Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-95-180 *18 September 1995*

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Berisha Says Visit to U.S. 'Successful'

AU1609192895 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 16 Sep 95

[Article by Bujar Muharremi, including interview with Albanian President Sali Berisha at Rinas airport shortly after arrival in Tirana on 16 Sep]

[FBIS Translated Text] President Berisha returned home today after concluding an official visit of several days to the United States. Upon arrival at the Rinas airport, President Berisha gave an interview for RTSh and Albanian Telegraphic Agency reporters:

[Begin Berisha recording] I would determine the visit to the United States to be a very fruitful, important, and successful visit. During my stay in Washington, I was received at the White House by President Bill Clinton, Vice President Al Gore, Secretary of State Warren Christopher, National Security Adviser Anthony Lake, and other top officials of President Clinton's Administration.

I can confirm that we had a complete understanding at the meeting regarding all the developments in Albania, its role and efforts to build a rule-of-law state and market economy, and its contribution in the region. At this meeting as well, I found complete support and ensured President Clinton's full support for further setting up a law-governed state and market economy in Albania, as well as his warranty that the United States and U.S. diplomacy will be seriously engaged in restoring the national freedoms and rights of Albanians in Kosova.

With President Clinton, we discussed U.S. direct aid in many fields, such as economic, technical, military, and other fields. President Clinton assured me that the United States will increase its assistance amounting to $46 million and that additional aid will arrive in Albania.

At the same time, during this visit, I held very important meetings at the U.S. Congress and Senate. I met the Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole and Congressman Gillman. I held talks with the Committee for Foreign Affairs at the U.S. Congress and met with congressmen who created an Albanian-U.S. lobby at the U.S. Congress. I also met Congressman Eagle, Senator McCain, and other senators and congressmen. At all these meetings, I found a determination on the part of U.S. senators and congressmen, the U.S. Senate and Congress, to support Albania. I found a high assessment both in the U.S. Administration and President Clinton as well as the U.S. Senate and Congress of Albania's important achievements during these three years and their determination to further support these attainments in the future.

[Muharremi] Mr. President, what was the opinion of the U.S. Administration regarding the foreign policy of the democratic government during this period?

[Berisha] The opinion of the U.S. Administration was a very positive assessment for the important role that Albania has played and continues to play in ensuring peace and stability in the Balkans. It was a very positive appraisal of the deep course of the reforms, which the government has engaged the country in and the results and fruits of these reforms.

[Muharremi] Pjeter Arbnori, chairman of the People's Assembly presidency, government and presidency members, Foreign Ministry officials, and others welcomed President Berisha home.

A group of the Pan-Albanian Students Union also gave a very warm reception for Berisha and delivered President Berisha a message of greeting on the union's behalf.

Socialist Daily Praises 'Realism' of Statement

AU1509182995 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 15 Sep 95 p 1

[Unattributed editorial: "Lecture in Democracy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The statement by the White House press secretary on the meeting between Presidents Clinton and Berisha is published on page two of the newspaper.

This statement, in clear language, lays stress on three basic points covered by the talks.

First, the U.S. support for a fair solution of the Albanian national question. This statement formulates the idea that the United States "has powerfully supported autonomy for the people of Kosova and will continue to work toward this aim." This is strong support coming at a time when an overall solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia involves a need to appreciate the Albanian factor.

Second, President Clinton appreciates "the steps necessary to accomplish genuine market reforms in Albania" and expresses "satisfaction at the fast growth rate of the Albanian economy." In this context, assurances are given of continuing U.S. economic aid for specific projects. While Albania's participation in the Partnership for Peace program is welcomed, the declaration shows that the United States' aims are limited.

Third, the attitude expressed in the declaration toward democratic developments in Albania is one of hope, but also includes the U.S. Administration's reservations in this field. These are even clearly stated in the phrase in which President Clinton "expressed the hope that

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Albania... will take other steps to guarantee the rule of law." For the head of the U.S. Administration, what is important in this context is "strengthening the institutional and political independence of the Albanian judicial system."

The language used in the United States to describe political and institutional developments in Albania is far from the euphoria of those in power here. The realism it shows about developments in Albania shows that the U.S. Administration recognizes and monitors step by step the state of affairs in our country.

This is natural in the open democratic societies, which are sending clear signals that they have reservations over the misuse of political power in the fragile Albanian democracy, especially over the pressure exerted in order to subjugate the power of the judiciary. This is the sense in which one can understand the hopes expressed by Mr. Clinton for the continuation of the reforms or the demands he puts forward for other steps to guarantee the rule of law by strengthening the independence of the Albanian judicial system.

However much the statement by the White House press secretary in connection with the Clinton-Berisha meeting preserves elements of the language of diplomacy, everyone understands that the Albanian president was delivered a timely lecture in democracy in the White House. It is early to express any opinion as to the seriousness with which those in power here will act on the criticisms raised by the U.S. Administration However, one thing is certain. Washington is interested in an Albania in which there will not be political tension and violence between the government and the opposition, in which there will be a separation of powers and confidence in the construction of democracy, a market economy, and the rule of law.

Opposition Leaders View Berisha's U.S. Visit

AU1809101195 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 16 Sep 95 p 7

[Interviews by Jonila Godole with Socialist Party Deputy Chairman Luan Hajdaraga, Social Democratic Party Chairman Skender Gjinushi, Arben Imami of the Democratic Alliance, and Petrit Kalakulla, chairman of the Democratic Party of the Right; places and dates not given: "The Reservations of the United States Are Fair: Views of Opposition Leaders Hajdaraga, Gjinushi, Imami, and Kalakulla"]

[FBIS Translated Text] President Berisha's visit to the United States is coming to an end. Have his meetings with Clinton and other U.S. representatives been successful? Everyone would like a positive answer, but the United States' interest in the independence of the courts in Albania and in the Court of Cassation in particular has provoked debate. This full awareness of the Americans of what is happening in Albania is of course a result of information from the U.S. Embassy in Tirana and other organizations that follow every change and current development.

It is also interesting that President Berisha, whether he liked it or not, was forced to confront another problem in the United States, that of Greek-Albanian relations. However, even after being offered a medal by the Greek lobby in the United States, Berisha does not seem to have changed his mind about opening Greek schools for the minority.

1. What view do you take of the U.S. Government's stand on the independence of the judiciary in Albania?

2. Does the refusal to grant an honorary degree to Berisha have any connection with the opening of Greek schools for the minority?

Luan Hajdaraga (Socialist Party)

[Hajdaraga] 1. The U.S. political system is a perfect model of the separation of powers into the executive, the legislature, and the judiciary. This model has been used to construct a democratic system in many European and non-European countries. The U.S. Administration has therefore always been sensitive to respect for the independence of powers, especially the judiciary's. In the specific case of Albania, it might fairly be said that the conflicts between the judiciary and the executive have now moved beyond Albania's borders. It seems that the White House statement makes a clear reference to the attitude of the U.S. Administration toward the independence of the judiciary in Albania. This must be understood as a recommendation to our country genuinely to guarantee the independence of the judiciary, because this is the only way to guarantee the basis of a democratic and pluralist system.

[Godole] Do you think that the Nano case was also discussed?

[Hajdaraga] The press communique does not make any explicit mention of the Nano case, nor could it. However, I am sure that the reference to the independence of the judiciary in Albania also implies the current crisis, especially the conflict between the Court of Cassation and the executive in Albania. One of the most acute problems in this conflict is the Nano case. President Berisha, in a CNN interview, held fast to his previous position. This shows that he is continuing to insist on his obsolete ideas of the independence of our courts, when everybody knows that the conflict today is nothing more than an effort by the judiciary to assert its independence from politics.

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2. This problem has been around for some time and demands a solution that will be achieved in accordance with the laws in force and with international standards and agreements about minorities. When we talk about solutions, these call for certain specific political and financial conditions and they will no doubt be achieved in several stages. Regardless of the importance given to this problem by one side or another, I think it must be handled rationally and a suitable solution found without being blown up out of all proportion.

Skender Gjinushi, Social Democratic Party

[Gjinushi] 1. The reservations that were also expressed in the White House communique mean that they are those of President Clinton and the State Department over the independence of the courts, over Berisha's policies, and the direction that our state is taking, and they are more than fair. The recent events at the Court of Cassation, the involvement of the Constitutional Court, and Mr. Arbnori's transformation into a tool in these events show the involvement of the entire Albanian state. Berisha and the people around him should think seriously about this.

[Godole] Do you think that the Nano case was specifically discussed?

[Gjinushi] I do not know. However, the criticism of the court's independence in this case also affects the Nano case and all these recent tricks, such as the plenum, the changes to Article 8 [of the Penal Code], and the siege of the Court of Cassation, etc., have been extremely malicious and entirely political, and have also encroached precisely on the Nano problem. The connection with Nano can no longer be hidden and Berisha should understand Clinton's message well; whether it was sent directly or indirectly is not so important.

The course that events are taking shows that there can be no mention of the rule of law, but that a neodictatorship is being imposed.

2. As for the problem of minorities, I would say that there are no serious problems to compromise Greek-Albanian relations, Even the White House statement seems to have had this essential meaning, because there is a nuance implying that Mr. Berisha was asked what was being done about the status of the minority, showing that he has taken into consideration the criticisms or claims of the Greek side and has asked the Albanian state to take a benevolent view. No parallel can be drawn between the situation of the minority and that of the Albanians in Kosova.

Arben Imami, Democratic Alliance

[Imami] 1. I think that the Americans' attitude to the independence of the courts is clear. I said quite candidly days ago at a news conference that one cannot talk specifically about the Brozi case, the Nano case, etc. You cannot talk like that at such a high-level meeting, but the fact that Clinton congratulated Albanian democracy on putting an end to the totalitarian system and hoped that the Albanian state would continue its efforts to be a law-governed state is a way of particularly emphasizing the consolidation of the institutional and political independence of the courts as a system. The fact that it is the U.S. state that will help to strengthen this independence of the courts makes it clear that the message that he wanted to give Berisha involves not only a general theory of the value of the courts and a constitutional system with three separated powers, but is also a direct message about the situation in which a judge finds himself in Albania today.

2. Nothing has been made clear officially about honors and other things. However, we must realize that Albania is no longer an out-of-the-way country, but one that participates in clearly defined organizations and structures on the basis of principles that are equally clearly defined. Thus, the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] and the Council of Europe are organizations of which we are members on the basis of certain principles and standards that Albania is obliged to apply. We must understand this opening up on the part of our government and it must be clear to us that we no longer have the opportunity to conduct an independent policy, because policies are inevitably pursued in interdependency, i.e. all parties depend on one another. From this point of view, it is entirely normal for President Clinton, as president of the world's most powerful state and the main pillar of both NATO and the OSCE, to call for more democracy and an improvement in the status of groups and minorities in Albania. At least it has been understood that Clinton asked Berisha for an improvement in the status of the minority.

Petrit Kalakulla, Democratic Party of the Right

[Kalakulla] 1. At his meeting with Berisha, President Clinton raised the independence of the courts as a worrying problem because everybody knows that in the United States the courts and the judicial system are sacred. In the United States, the president takes his oath in front of the president of the Supreme Court. I think that Clinton must have been influenced in his stand by information sent from Tirana by the U.S. Embassy, which has been present at all the events including the siege of the Court of Cassation and during the entire general situation created here in connection

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with relations between the executive and the judiciary. Clinton's attitude is therefore completely explicable and expresses the concern of the state and the U.S. Government over the situation in which our country and its democratic developments find themselves. It is not by chance that Berisha's declaration stated that the problem of strengthening democratic developments in Albania was broached at the talks.

2. If the honor was not given to Berisha because of the influence of the Greek lobby, I would not worry about this matter in the slightest. I would even congratulate our president on a fair stand in protection of our national interests. However, it appears to me that this was not the reason. As far as I have gathered from various press statements, the reason must also have been the position of the judiciary in Albania, i.e. the conflict between the executive and the judiciary.

For me, the Greek minority in Albania has one of the best positions in Europe. If you compare the level of education of the minority in proportion to their number to that of the Albanians living in Greece, I am convinced that the comparison would turn out very much to favor the Greek minority here in Albania. These matters are being inflated for definite purposes. Greek schools are being demanded not so much to protect the rights of the minority, but through them to introduce Greek influence into Albania. I therefore say that Berisha and his government and that of anybody else who might come to power in Albania would do well not to allow this.

Berisha Quoted on Clinton's Support for Kosovo

AU1509182095 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 15 Sep 95 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Clinton Promises Berisha the Restoration of Kosova's Autonomy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] President Berisha announced yesterday that U.S. President Bill Clinton had promised him that he will exert pressure on Serbia to restore Kosova's autonomy. Berisha said that Clinton told him at a meeting on 12 September that the United States is looking at the treatment of the population of Kosova and that it will support this population's exercise of their human rights.

"The President assured me that the United States is very concerned and will insist on the restoration of this province's former autonomy," Berisha told REUTER in an interview in his Boston hotel room. Berisha said that he had asked Clinton to put the question of Kosova on the agenda of international issues and that talks between representatives of the Albanian people and the Belgrade government should take place in the presence of mediators, American if possible.

"I think this visit has widened support for this decisive problem that could become a pretext for large-scale conflicts," Berisha said. The Albanian Government has persistently urged the international community to halt the Serbs' anti-Albanian actions that augur a spread of the conflict to the southern Balkans. Albania has also opposed the settlement of about 1,000 Serbian colonists in Kosova, saying that this is an attempt to change the ethnic structure of this province with its more than 90 percent Albanian population. Berisha said that support would be greater if a contingent of U.S. troops were stationed in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], which also has a large Albanian population, in order to help alleviate sanctions imposed by Greece. "I think that the U.S. troops would be a strong warning," Berisha said.

White House Statement Said Distorted

AU1509183995 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 15 Sep 95 p 3

[Commentary by Astrit Patozi: "White House Statement Distorted"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The U.S. Information Service yesterday disputed KOHA JONE, which published yesterday an article distorting the White House statement on the 12 September meeting between President Berisha and President Clinton.

USIS states that KOHA JONE published on 14 September an article titled "Clinton Demands Independence of the Courts; Court of Cassation Discussed at the White House," noting that the quotation from the White House spokesman included a sentence that did not exist in the original text of the declaration.

According to a report distributed yesterday by the U.S. Information Service to all the media in Albania, it seems that KOHA JONE changed the essential character of the original text of the White House statement, attributing to the presidential spokesman words he did not say.

A comparison of the two texts shows that the sentence—"President Clinton's handling of this issue is a response to the continual problems between the executive authorities in Albania and the Court of Cassation"—has been arbitrarily added and put into the mouth of the White House spokesman.

A comparison between the original text and the article in KOHA JONE does not suggest a mistake or a translator's lapse, because an entire sentence that does not exist in the original has been added.

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Meanwhile, the article published today by KOHA JONE differs from all the other reports by journalists in Washington who have been following the visit by Albanian President Sali Berisha to the United States. It must be said that not only yesterday's distortion that obliged the U.S. Information Service to issue a statement, but other KOHA JONE reports from Washington have been conspicuous for their tendency to disparage President Berisha's visit to the United States.

A few days ago, this newspaper published an article equating the issue of Kosova with the problems of the Greek minority in Albania, portraying this as the essence of Berisha's meeting with senior U.S. officials.

The purpose of this distortion of the White House statement by a newspaper that sent a special reporter to Washington is still obscure, but whatever it may be, it is a frivolous gesture that exposes one of the most serious shortcomings of the modern Albanian press, from which some newspapers published in Tirana cannot free themselves.

Greek Minority Issues Dim Visit

AU1509182295 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 15 Sep 95 p 3

[Commentary by Ben Blushi: "For the Minority or Against Berisha"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Although the release of the five members of the minority seemed to break the ice in Greek-Albanian relations, it would not be inappropriate to position a road sign on the Albanian-Greek border reading "Danger—Ice—Slippery Surface."

There is no doubt that Greece and the issue of the minority have somewhat dimmed the success of the visit of Albanian President Sali Berisha. First it was Clinton who implied that Albania must extend the scope given to the minority, and later Boston University refused to grant Berisha the honorary degree of doctor of law. Although the university is a private and nongovernmental institution, the act of refusal testifies to the considerable influence of the Greek lobby. It seems that in the last few days, there has been a significant clash between the Greek and Albanian lobbies in the United States. The U.S. Administration has preferred to play the role of referee between them, annoying the Greeks by inviting Berisha and annoying Berisha by mentioning the minority to the Albanians. After this, Berisha will find it difficult to forgive Greece Washington's intervention. Although he expressed at the White House his readiness to welcome President Stefanopoulos to Tirana, contacts are not expected to be very friendly until the Democratic Party's mandate expires next year. The Albanian president talked to the president of Boston University and refused to give way on the minority's Greek schools, thus forgoing another medal for the Albanian Sali Berisha. Of course he did not refuse to give the green light to the education of the minority, but he apparently did not agree to the number of schools requested. Although the school issue is not very sensitive in Albania, one cannot rule out the Greeks being motivated by such a very delicate issue as the universal rights of minorities. Perhaps the Greek lobby is not intervening so much for the sake of the minority as against Berisha. Greece is showing that it cannot forget its one-year conflict with the Albanian president and its show of strength at a time when the five members of the minority were arrested. It seems that politics in bilateral relations are guided significantly by the pride of the two sides. Greece considers Berisha as a potential adversary whom it seeks to undermine and weaken at all costs. However, it remains to be seen what influence the Boston incident and Clinton's interest in the Greek minority will have on Albania's forthcoming electoral battle. Perhaps the Albanian voters will agree to sacrifice a doctorate in order to forego Greek schools in Lezhe, Burrel, and Vlore, where the percentage of members of the minority is inconsiderable.

Berisha Seen Blundering Over Nano in Interview

AU1509183595 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 15 Sep 95 p 1

[Commentary by "Observer": "Why Did the President Blunder?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Among the barbed questions that the CNN journalist put to President Berisha concerned anxiety over the disagreements with the supreme court (i.e. the Court of Cassation) over Fatos Nano.

President Berisha replied that Fatos Nano was convicted "because of the loss of millions in Italian humanitarian aid."

Was the journalist convinced by this phrase of Berisha's, when everybody knows that Fatos Nano was not convicted over the loss of this sum but for embezzling it in favor of other persons?

We think that the president knows how to make a distinction between loss and theft. He knows perfectly well that Fatos Nano did not steal, but it is difficult to use the word theft in front of a journalist of such a serious network.

We do not think that Berisha's words were erroneously translated. We have taken his phrase from RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE of 14 September.

Why was Fatos Nano convicted in those three trials, for loss of these goods or their misappropriation? Berisha's

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talk with the CNN journalist was not confidential. It was broadcast on television. Everyone understood it.

Why did the president blunder?

Cassation Court Chairman Replies With Accusations

AU1609171495 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 14 Sep 95 p 5

[Article by E.L.: "Zef Brozi: They Have Withdrawn My Bodyguard"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "They have withdrawn my bodyguard." Yesterday the Cassation Court chairman confirmed another loud fact: the one about the man, who last June was appointed to protect him. According to Brozi, his bodyguard was detained from 6 September when the incident happened at the entrance to the Cassation Court. He was released only yesterday. According to Brozi, on Monday [11 September] two policemen from the Target Protection and Security Service were replaced and later dismissed only because they did not check Brozi's car where Ndue Marku was, one of the dismissed employees. "I want my bodyguard back," says Brozi for GAZETA SHQIPTARE, "particularly now I feel myself unsafe." He gives reasons why he needs a bodyguard, adding that, "all the other Cassation Court judges need bodyguards when the need arises." "The punishment of people working with me is part of the strategy being followed for some time now." Brozi also asked his colleagues in the Constitutional Court that in Wednesday's process, when the complaint of the Council of Ministers to declare Brozi's activity as "illegal and unconstitutional" is discussed, to exclude Chairman Rustem Gjata from the jury. For Brozi, "Gjata's television speech was prejudgment of the case, something which violates the code of legal ethics." Brozi also replied to Prime Minister Meksi's interview the night before: " The Constitutional Court has proclaimed many of the decisions of the Meksi government and other government members as unconstitutional but this does not mean that either Meksi or other government members are penally responsible." A day before the process in the Constitutional Court, the Cassation Court Chairman, twice accused by the Council of Ministers, replied with accusations.

Press on Brozi's Mental Health

AU1809060495

[FBIS Editorial Report] Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian on 12 Sep carries on page 3 a commentary by M.B., taken from the newspaper BASHKIMI of 9 September 1995, totaling 2500 words, under the title, "About Mr. Brozi's Health."

M.B. writes: "The reactivation of Brozi's case has raised the question: 'Has Zef Brozi ever been checked by a physician'? This might be an intimate question, but this is a question asked by serious observers," adding that they do this "considering several reactions of the Cassation Court chairman, his press statements and press conferences."

The commentary follows with reactions to Brozi's demand for a referendum to decide whether he should be the Cassation Court chairman, considering it "an overestimation of himself." The author continues: "He invites in a television debate not one of his colleagues, but the head of state, the prime minister, and the minister of justice." The commentary goes on to say that Brozi organized a meeting with people who had complaints about the Cassation Court, but he invited instead "the prime minister, the minister of justice, and the diplomatic corps in Tirana. As for journalists, he is very fond of news conferences, which according to analysts who consider their intensity, are characteristic of politicians and in no way characteristic of people in the black tunic." The commentary also mentions Brozi's statement about the Constitutional Court being illegal and that he would never rely on it, and afterwards, "He believes in the Constitutional Court because he sent it a complaint against the government." M.B. says, "Brozi does not recognize the authority of the Ministry of Justice and does not obey the order of the minister, on whom, according to constitutional provisions, the court administration depends. And lastly, in a spectacular way, the Cassation Court chairman prefers to close himself in his office, alluding to his life being in peril. But from whom? Brozi has never been threatened, either in person or by telephone calls. Nevertheless he declares that he has asked to be protected not by one bodyguard, but a whole group, and he complains that his request has not been considered."

The commentary continues that Brozi's resume is "almost blank" and his career is "hardly known," adding that "in the years of the dictatorship, he was a lecturer at the Faculty of Political Sciences and Law, and later a Democratic Party deputy, and suddenly he found himself on the throne of the Albanian chief judge, because his predecessor suffered from an incurable disease. The observers point out that he made no outstanding contribution in the overthrow of the dictatorship and the establishment of democracy, and a number of his articles are not known to the broad public. He has made no contribution in judging the (red) mafia or against corruption, etc."

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Commenting on these reactins, M.B. says, "When these reactions come from an intellectual who, though not very well known in public, has become known only because of his very important post, people have questions to ask. The analysts think that some of these symptoms are sheer narcissism and delusion of grandeur."

After mentioning Brozi's recent acts the commentary goes on, "All the leftist press and left political forces have come out in Brozi's support. The socialist daily ZERI I POPULLIT, that had severely criticized Mr.Brozi when he was in Nano's disfavour, now praises him to the sky on front pages as a fighter 'for the freedom of the rule of law.' According to newspapers, Mr.Brozi stays late at night calling international institutions, writing letters of protest, giving interviews."

The commentary continues: "The observers consider very doubtful Brozi's persistent propaganda about 'the independence of the legal power,' his continuous accusations against all: the Ministry of Justice, the Constitutional Court, the President of the Republic, the Attorney General, courts at different levels, but not against leftist forces which support him with all their arsenal. It appears that this gentleman identifies the independence of the court with his personal independence, an independence from all, even from the law. It looks as if an independent court means an independent Zef, no more no less. This throws doubts not only on his physical health, but also on his professional health."

The commentary concludes: "Many analysts connect the incidents in the Cassation Court with the visit of President Berisha in the United States and his meeting with President Clinton on 11 September. According to them, there is a coordination of activities to darken the success of this visit and to lower the image of the democratic government in Albania in the eyes of the democratic world."

Appellation Court Chairman Accused in Nano Case

AU1609171595 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 13 Sep 95 p 5

[Article by A.Cani: "The Socialists Accuse; Prel Martini on Trial"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Socialists are accusing the Chief Judge of Appellation, Prel Martini. "Nano's file has been blocked on purpose at the presidency of that Court" is the official claim of the Socialist parliamentarians. The denouncing document became public after a long meeting of the Socialist parliamentary group. The document was sent to the attoreny general of the Republic, Alush Dragoshi, yesterday. "On trial for misuse of the post" is the Socialists accusation against Prel Martini, the number one of the Appellation Court.

"For 52 days Nano's file remained blocked in the Appellation Court and was sent neither to Tepelena Court nor to the Cassation Court," reads the accusation of the Socialist Party group. The debate about Nano's file started some time ago when a group of Socialist deputies contacted Martini to learn the reasons for this delay. The lawyers of the imprisoned leader persist in the fact that Nano's file, stuck in the Appellation Court, "should be sent in no later than ten days to the appropriate court." In the letter to Dragoshi denouncing Appellatin Court Chairman Martini, the Socialist Party parliamentary group considers the delay a "crime of the misuse of authority, foreseen in Article 248 of the Penal Code."

Book Review Sees Kosova Albanians as Elite

AU1809060395

[FBIS Editorial Report] Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian on 14 September carries on page 9 a 1,000-word book review by Bujar Zajmi, under the title "Albanians of Kosova—the Elite of Our Race," about Samimi's book *True Albania—Mother Kosova, (1938-1943)*, published by Aferdita Publishing House, Tirana, 1995. After describing the author as "a great patriot and outstanding intellectual," Zajmi writes that the author in his book considers Kosova the "national temple," "the altar of the homeland," with "strong, pure, noble, and imposing people," who "resisted at all times as an 'elite of our race.'" Commenting further on the book, Zajmi says that the author "cries and sings together with Kosova which gave Albania so many brave fighters, scholars, men of letters, politicians, writers, and artists, well-known beyond the borders of the homeland."

Pointing out that all this is true even for our times, he goes on: "Even at that time there were pseudo-intellectuals who complained that Kosova had no cultural powers, no esthetic progress, no spiritual fulfilment." He continues that Samimi replied to these peole by saying that "The Kosovar, in fact, makes up the elite of our race and illuminates the artistic creativeness." Zajmi comments that today there are "humanitarian internationalists who think of giving shelter to the Serbs," but he says "they never think of occupied Kosova." He considers Kosova as half of the body of the homeland, "that part which has the heart."

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He goes on to say that someone "is trying to look down upon the brave men of Kosova, to spread poison, borrowed from the chauvinist neighbours." The answer to them is in the book he says, adding "We can never stain the dignity and personality of Kosova, the patriot Kosovar" and that "in the last 50 years Kosova has shown what a freedom-loving people can do for their homeland."

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Havel on Ruml's Statement, Jewish Property

LD1709193195 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1215 GMT 17 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] It is likely that President Vaclav Havel is now having lunch in the German National Museum in Nuremburg, where he is attending the ceremony of awarding the International Nuremburg Human Rights Prize to Sergey Kovalev. Eva Hulkova recorded the following "Conversations at Lany" before Vaclav Havel's departure for Germany.

[Begin recording] [Passage omitted] [Hulkova] We can find a parallel between the shameful Nuremburg racist laws and our own times, inasmuch as many problems concerning the Jews have still not been put right—for example, restitution.

[Havel] Yes, restitution of Jewish property is a very sad remnant of those long-past events. I think it is our duty to do at least the little that can be done—to return certain properties to the Federation of Jewish Communities or individual Jewish communities. [passage omitted] The state has returned a great part of the confiscated property it owned. However, some municipalities and some physical persons in possession of some of these properties are not too keen to return it. They cannot be forced or ordered to do so. It is up to them. I would like to tell these municipalities to consider not only their responsibility toward their electorate of preserving some property for them, but also their deeper responsibility as citizens of a democratic state. Therefore, they should be broad-minded enough to return the property to the Jewish communities. This is our duty, which should reflect our views on the world, society, and human coexistence.

Also, this issue has been quite closely monitored abroad and is therefore linked to the prestige of our state.

[Hulkova] This week the heads of the coalition parties held a five-hour meeting. They came to a conclusion about a Senate but not about higher administrative-territorial units. It is a draw. Would you care to say something about this?

[Havel] I think it must be welcomed that they have agreed on a number of things. The election law is particularly important. It is difficult to imagine a democratic state without regular elections or elections without an election law. I naturally think this is good. I admit I am sorry that no agreement was reached on reforming the state administration. I think—and I have said so on many occasions—that, for various reasons, it would be good if, before the elections, at least the basic constitutional law on setting up higher self-administering territorial units were adopted and that it does not again become an election issue. [passage omitted] I am sorry no agreement was reached on this, but all is not yet lost. The parliament still has a chance.

[Hulkova] What do you think about reducing the state administration?

[Havel] [Passage omitted] What I am not quite certain about is the form this proposal has taken, this mechanical cutting back by a certain percentage. It reminds me of the time of communism when an order was issued to suddenly turn 70,000 clerical workers into manual workers. Either a clerk is needed and must do his job, or he is not and must be removed. What is to be assessed are individual jobs and workplaces rather than defining figures on a statewide level. [passage omitted]

[Hulkova] With regard to the statements of Czech Interior Minister Jan Ruml that allegedly put the prime ministers' meeting in jeopardy, can you tell us to what extent Czech politicians can speak about their own views in public? Where is the limit?

[Havel] I think politicians have not only the right, but also the duty to say what they think. We have the right to express ourselves on the situation in the United States, in Russia, and thus also in the country nearest to us, in Slovakia. The important thing is how it is done. Of course, diplomatic words must be chosen. A politician is not an independent journalist and is, of course, bound by certain conventions that apply to political contacts. I think however that, in principle, one can make one's mind known and that it is our duty to express ourselves, in particular on the situation in a friendly country, because what else makes people friends than to be open with one another?

I would be more inclined to quote as an example of a not quite diplomatic or sensitive way of expressing oneself Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's statement that the interior minister is no longer grazing cows in Slovakia. We have to understand why he was grazing cows there. He was grazing them because he opposed the communist regime and was not allowed to study or do what he had the ability to do. Besides, I also spent a certain amount of time rolling barrels in a brewery.

[Hulkova] Thank you and see you next time. [end recording]

Klaus Surprised at Report of Izetbegovic Visit

LD1809112295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1105 GMT 18 Sep 95

[By Milan Lazarevic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Prague, Sept. 18 (TANJUG)—"I certainly was not told and would be surprised if it

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were true," said Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus in response to a recent television program that said Alija Izetbegovic was arriving soon in Prague.

Klaus' surprise is understandable, as the arrival of the Bosnian Muslim leader would be the first visit of a senior Sarajevo government official to the Czech Republic.

Despite vociferous partiality to the Muslims from most media and in particular Czech President Vaclav Havel, who had called for an intervention against the Bosnian Serbs, Klaus' cabinet has a more balanced approach to the war in Bosnia and the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

The principled and pragmatic government has abided by the rule not to invite any of the sides involved in the Bosnian war, regardless of the fact that the Czech Republic has recognized Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Individual Muslim ministers have visited the Czech Republic, where the intellectual and political refugee "colony" from Bosnia is quite large, but had not been received by the government.

Presidential spokesman Ladislas Spacek said Havel had invited Izetbegovic as a sponsor of the event "one month of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the Czech Republic." Izetbegovic was also invited by the foundation "Humans in Distress" which is organizing the event.

Spacek said it was not the usual practice for the president to inform the prime minister of invited heads of state individually.

On criticism aroused in the public that the president was conducting his own foreign policy, there followed an explanation that Izetbegovic was coming not for an official visit but at the personal invitation of President Havel on the occasion of the event "one month in Bosnia-Herzegovina."

The Czech charge d'affaires in Belgrade was summoned to the foreign ministry and handed a protest by the Yugoslav government against the political misuse of the event and its anti-Serb character, which had been revealed in the preparations and announcements.

Havel then said the event, which opened on Sept. 14, was not an expression of solidarity with any of the warring sides. Soon after, however, ensued a new announcement to the effect that the date of Izetbegovic's arrival had not been specified, that it depended on the situation in Bosnia.

Klaus Discusses EU, NATO Membership, Slovakia

AU1609142895 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 15 Sep 95 p 6

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Andreas Unterberger; place and date not given: "A Tory From Prague Defends Meciar and Criticizes EU Money"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Unterberger] Is Austria a good advocate for the Central and East European countries in the EU, as it has often claimed to be?

[Klaus] We need more understanding. It is quite clear that Austria is closer to us geographically than some other countries. Austria can play a major role in this respect. Whether this should be institutionalized is a secondary question. I do not believe that Austria's role as a mediator should be institutionalized.

[Unterberger] Some even claim that Austria is not really committed to the eastward expansion of the EU or is even trying to slow it down.

[Klaus] I do not feel this way. I have never had this impression.

[Unterberger] What is more important for your country: membership in the EU or in NATO?

[Klaus] The question as to what is more important does not arise. The question is what is easier and what can be achieved more quickly. In this respect, it is quite clear to me that NATO membership is a political issue. It is enough to say "yes" or "no." For membership in the EU, we have to fulfill certain conditions. We need more compatibility here.

[Unterberger] Does this mean that you expect a positive answer from NATO shortly?

[Klaus] Basically, yes.

[Unterberger] Is it important for you that Austria join NATO too?

[Klaus] I believe that the two entries have nothing to do with each other. I accept the Austrian position. However, I see a small shift in the argumentation.

I still remember the discussions of a few years ago, when I said very innocently: Neutrality is a concept of the past. It no longer exists, and it has no meaning in the current situation. I remember very well that this innocent position led to a dramatic reaction in Austria. Today things have changed a little, I believe.

[Unterberger] Thus, do you see a positive development of the Austrian discussion?

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[Klaus] It is not for me to assess that.

[Unterberger] There are two problematic areas on the Czech Republic's path toward the EU, which are being pointed out by different groups in Austria. One is the nuclear power plants. Do you think they might become an obstacle to the Czech Republic's entry into the EU?

[Klaus] Certainly not. I believe that such efforts would not be taken seriously in Austria, either. This is more a domestic issue in Austria than a foreign policy question affecting Austria and the Czech Republic.

[Unterberger] Does this mean that you are convinced that there will be no new bilateral escalations between Vienna and Prague over this issue?

[Klaus] Certainly not from our side.

[Unterberger] You have always reacted very calmly to Austria's nuclear criticism, which was expressed at regular intervals.

[Klaus] That is the only thing I can do. For us, the decision in favor of nuclear energy was no easy solution. We examined and analyzed all arguments carefully. Then our decision was a clear yes.

[Unterberger] Another political problem that might arise between the Czech Republic and the EU, particularly with Germany, is the issue of the Sudeten Germans. Would you accept talks on that?

[Klaus] We must talk with each other. This is what we are doing anyway. But the past is the past. One cannot change it. One must look to the future. I am afraid that we will not be able to propose anything new in this respect.

[Unterberger] When you say that one must look to the future and that we must talk with each other, what do you think of direct talks with the different organizations of expelled Sudeten Germans?

[Klaus] That is impossible. The Czech Government will never hold talks with the Sudeten German organizations. For us, the partner is the government of our neighboring country. The organizations of the Sudeten Germans can speak with similar organizations in our country. This is what they are doing anyway.

[Unterberger] Thus, the government rules out direct contacts completely.

[Klaus] The question is a little artificial. On the one hand, one meets hundreds of people every year, hundreds of national and foreign organizations. Basically, the organizations of the Sudeten Germans are organizations like any other. However, in this special case, talks—with a capital T—between our government and these organizations are also impossible for conceptional reasons. I am convinced that the organizations of the Sudeten Germans understand that.

[Unterberger] Let me ask you another question about EU entry. Parallel with eastward expansion, preparations for monetary union are also under way. To what extent can and does the Czech Republic want to join it from the beginning after its entry into the EU?

[Klaus] The question should be put differently: To what extent is the EU prepared for monetary union? This is the first question. The second is: How far has the Czech Republic progressed in this respect?

We have a fixed exchange rate against the two currencies—the German mark and the U.S. dollar. This exchange rate plays an important role as an anchor for the Czech economy. It has now been absolutely stable for 51 months, since 31 December 1990. I achieved that when I was finance minister. In this respect, we are probably better prepared than other countries. Theoretically, we can shift from the mixture in this currency basket to another, the European Currency Unit, for example. For me this is not so dramatic. My objections and doubts refer to the first question. What progress has the EU achieved in this respect? I have stated this several times—not as prime minister but as an economist who specialized on monetary policy in the field of economics. I cannot imagine such an arrangement in the foreseeable future of the EU. However, this is a scientific and not a political position.

I am familiar with the required preconditions for a common currency. In my view, these conditions have not yet been fulfilled in present-day Europe, and they will not be fulfilled in a few years.

[Unterberger] Do you have doubts only about whether the EU countries will achieve that, or do you question the goal as such?

[Klaus] The goal is quite normal. I have no opinion on that. For me this is neutral economic terminology. However, I am familiar with the preconditions for a common currency. My analysis only tells me that these preconditions have not been fulfilled in Europe.

[Unterberger] If you had a say on Europe's future, would you recommend a postponement of the project?

[Klaus] You can put it this way. Or one could also say: I believe that the EU does not need such a currency. I think that pragmatic people understand this recommendation very well without my intervention.

[Unterberger] The recommendation that the common currency should be renounced?

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[Klaus] This is too strong. I would not suggest a renunciation.

[Unterberger] But you believe that the preconditions have not yet been fulfilled.

[Klaus] I have given lectures on this topic and written an essay.

[Unterberger] How would you explain the separation of Czechoslovakia to a foreigner, in retrospect? What is your balance sheet today?

[Klaus] This is not a question of a balance sheet. First of all, I must say: It is a reality. Second: This belongs to the past. And third: I certainly did not want that, and I did everything possible to prevent that. Unfortunately, I did not succeed.

For me and for all of us on both sides, the division is now a reality. The question as to whether this was the optimum solution or whether it should have been carried out later, in a better way, or earlier is very speculative and no longer interesting. We are living as normal neighboring countries, and we have concluded various specific agreements. We have a customs union.

Relations are very good. At the human level, they are really excellent without the weight of the common state. The division has turned into a relief for personal relations.

[Unterberger] Some analyses claim that a great deal improved for the Czechs after the division. It has become stronger economically, and the data have improved.

[Klaus] The data are better, but they would also be better without the division.

[Unterberger] There has been a lot of criticism concerning the human rights situation in Slovakia.

[Klaus] Things are being simplified by outside observers. The situation is not that tragic.

[Unterberger] Why do you believe the Czech Republic has such good international press and Slovakia such a bad one?

[Klaus] You must know that.

[Unterberger] Among the Central European successor states to the Warsaw Pact, the Czech Republic is the only country in which former communists, no matter whether they still call themselves communists or whether they have changed their name, no longer play a role. How do you explain that?

[Klaus] The political and ideological situation in my country has always been different. We were democratic between WWI and WWII. We had our perestroyka in the 1960's. As early as that, we experienced what the others experienced later.

We founded a transparent political party that clearly stands on one side of the political spectrum: This is my democratic party of citizens. Such a party does not exist in other postcommunist countries.

[Unterberger] How would you define your party? As a classical right-wing liberal party?

[Klaus] It is like the Conservative Party in England. This is the party that is closest to us.

[Unterberger] The conservatives under Thatcher or Major?

[Klaus] This is a secondary question: I simply say a conservative party. I will be the only foreigner to speak at the conference of the Conservative Party in Blackpool on 11 October. This also shows the similarity a little.

The other postcommunist parties do not have the problem that parties left of center have formed, but there is no party like ours, on the other side of the political spectrum.

[Klaus] ...that no conservative, right-wing liberal parties have formed?

[Klaus] Yes.

Klaus on Reductions in Administration

AU1509165895 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 8 Sep 95 p 3

["Regular" interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Eva Martinkova in Prague on 7 September: "Regions Would Result in Breaking Up Offices"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A topical interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus focuses on the conceivable reduction of ministries, trade unions, and the meeting with Vladimir Meciar.

[Martinkova] Is the government thinking about reducing some sectors? Is it necessary, for instance, to have a minister without portfolio in the cabinet or a deputy minister concentrating solely on legislation?

[Klaus] The government is considering administrative reductions on many sides, and the number of ministers or ministries is one of them. We are, however, more concerned with the size of the ministries than with their number, with the bloated budget-funded and subsidized organizations, regionally growing offices that would certainly grow even bigger if we took another step in the regional subdivision of the country. I would prefer not to say anything strategic about the number of ministries. It should be obvious that the fragile balance of coalition

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forces renders it impossible to remove one minister, even if the ministry were abolished. So, the reference to the minister without portfolio, who concurrently is the head of the Government Office, is not really relevant. He would have the same office and car at his disposal even if he were just the head of the Government Office.

[Martinkova] What about limiting the sectors?

[Klaus] Of course, we have long-term plans to reduce the number of economy ministries as privatization progresses. We will reflect, for instance, on the fate of the Privatization Ministry and numerous other alternatives. Nevertheless, I consider an attempt more topical to draft considerable cuts in the individual ministries for 1996 already now. I must let you know that a meeting of the economy ministers will take place on 12 September on the topic of how to reach consent to cut into some ministry in the number of staff, etc.

[Martinkova] The railroad trade unions are on the offensive. They accused you of deceiving them and continued with their strike alert. Given these circumstances, should the government really consider a strike scenario?

[Klaus] I would not dramatize the fact that the railroad trade unions met and expressed their opinion regarding the election of the director general of the Czech Railroads. In our country, accusations and suspicions, condemnations, and big words are uttered far too easily. How to comment? I have not deceived or cheated anyone. I became involved in the appointment of the new executive board, influenced its structure, and talked several ministers, who were not interested, into becoming its members. This legitimately elected executive board meets without me, and I am not trying in any way to influence the results of these meetings. So, I would beg of the trade unionists not to use words like "deceived" and "cheated." Nevertheless, I believe that the current situation concerning the railroads has far to go to real tension.

[Martinkova] Will your meeting on 11 September with the Slovak prime minister be affected by Slovakia's violation of the Treaty on Customs Union?

[Klaus] Undoubtedly. It is a useless violation: It is useless in general, and just before our meeting in particular. It comes as a great surprise to me.

On Slovak Customs Measure

AU1609142195 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 8 Sep 95 p 3

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Tomas Chalupa; place and date not given: "Slovak Abolition of Customs Duty Was Unilateral Act"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In today's regular interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus, we discuss, among other issues, the unilateral decision of the Slovak Government to abolish the customs duty for small cars and the drafting of the Czech state budget for next year. In connection with the budget, we also return to the idea of a balanced budget enshrined by law. Other issues discussed in today's interview include EU agricultural policy and criticism of the principles of coupon privatization.

[Chalupa] When the Czech Government was weighing its subsequent decision to abolish the clearing agreement with Slovakia, voices were coming from Slovakia calling into question even the very existence of the customs union. Do you not think that the decision of the Meciar government to abolish customs duties for small cars is one of the steps by means of which the Slovak Government seeks to terminate the customs union?

[Klaus] I do not want to speculate on this. Nevertheless, I must say that the Slovak Government's decision came as a great surprise to me. I really do not know what kind of signal this was supposed to be before my meeting with Prime Minister Meciar (in Brno on Monday, 11 September, on the occasion of a meeting of Central European Free Trade Association [CEFTA] prime ministers) and can only guess. I am fully convinced that the customs union is advantageous for both countries, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. I would be very surprised if Slovakia wanted to back away from the agreement on the customs union.

As to the problem of the abolition of customs duties for small cars, decided by the government of Mr. Meciar, I would like to stress that it is necessary to differentiate. There is a difference between one of the countries of the union requesting an exception and between one of the member countries taking a unilateral step without discussing it with anyone. It is quite natural that, in the EU, where the customs union is only one of many integration elements, tariffs for cars differ from country to country. Denmark, for example, which is one of the few EU countries that does not manufacture cars, has quite different tariffs from countries that themselves produce cars. This is simply a matter that the agreement on the customs union within the EU permits. And, naturally, we could have come to an agreement on

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something similar with Slovakia as well. The problem is that there was no such agreement.

[Chalupa] The drafting of the budget will probably become the most important political issue of this fall. Where do you expect the greatest disputes? Has the issue of a balanced budget enshrined by law been raised during the initial discussions on the budget?

[Klaus] This idea did, naturally, come to my mind, and I think that a few ministers would support it. Unfortunately, I do not have majority support in the government for this matter, which is a great pity, I think. Otherwise, I believe that the government as a whole unequivocally understands the need for a balanced budget, and I can reveal that, to this day, I have not heard a single proposal to draft the budget for 1996 as anything but balanced. For the sixth year now, I have been enduring the standard contest among individual ministers to acquire for their own department something extra, at the expense of someone else's department. This is a standard matter. The party perspective completely disappears here, and the government is starting to divide according to completely different principles than cabinet members' party affiliation. This contest, which lasts several weeks, is most difficult for the minister of finance and the prime minister. It is simply necessary to endure this, behind him, or above him [sentence as published]. I am fully confident that we will propose a balanced, consolidated budget.

[Chalupa] The criticism can often be heard that coupon privatization has brought about excessive dispersion of company owners and has thus rendered their control impossible. Do you agree with this criticism?

[Klaus] This criticism has been repeated ever since we invented coupon privatization. First we heard that ownership would be totally dispersed among millions of citizens. The second warning was that the day after they receive their shares, these citizens will sell them for a bottle of whisky or a bottle of wine or something like that to somebody smart so that, quite the contrary, there will be a very narrow ownership of shares of privatized companies. Later, the idea of investment privatization funds appeared. All of a sudden, fears appeared that everything would be dominated by investment privatization funds. Then there was the fear that everyone will instantly sell his shares abroad for some hard currency so that everything will end up in foreign hands. And so forth and so forth. It is necessary to say one thing: None of this is true. The structure of ownership is simply natural, it is the way it is, it is changing and will eternally be in a state of flux. In part, there will be concentration of ownership and, in part, there will not be concentration. This is a normal evolutionary process because no one is the conductor of human destiny and of human behavior who would dictate what kind of a structure of ownership this or that company should have.

[Chalupa] While meeting farmers recently, you subjected the EU's agricultural policy to certain criticism and called for changes to this policy. What kind of changes should these be, in your opinion?

[Klaus] I would like to say, first of all, that criticism of the EU's agricultural policy really is not anything original. This criticism can be heard day in, day out within the EU, and our arguments are in no way original or new. It is obvious that the EU's agricultural policy is aimed at the protection of the producer and not at the protection of the consumer. Therefore, in our opinion, it protects a smaller group of citizens against a far greater group of citizens. We believe that this is, in principle, a bad approach.

Nekvasil: We Will Not Plead for NATO Admission

AU1509134195 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 12 Sep 95 p 3

[Report by "(jc)": "We Do Not Intend To Plead for a Place in NATO, Claims Nekvasil"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Brno—The Army is now modernizing its equipment so that it corresponds to NATO norms, but, according to Jiri Nekvasil, chief of the General Staff, this does not mean that it will be in the role of a suppliant in the event of its possible admission to NATO.

"We expect that NATO will come to us rather than us pleading with it. First and foremost, we want to be able to defend ourselves on our own," said Nekvasil.

The preparations for admission into NATO are, according to him, primarily a political issue. At the moment, the Army mainly takes part in exercises within the Partnership for Peace program. "We generally prefer exercises involving senior staffs, where officers learn the method of work of the commanders of other armies," said General Nekvasil.

Military Contract Challenged by Competition

AU1609142095 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 8 Sep 95 p 1

[Report by "km": "The Army Had To Stop the Tender for New Sights"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—Following the doubts raised in connection with the tenders for the modernization of the T-72 tank and the supply of small off-road

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cars, the Army is having difficulties with another lucrative armament contract. The Ministry for Economic Competition has just stopped a public tender for handheld firearm night sights worth several million korunas.

The tender was originally won by the Czech Pramacom Prague, which is made up of Meopta Prerov and the French firm Sfim ODS. Four of the five defeated firms, however, immediately challenged the Pramacom victory. The unsuccessful bidders questioned the technical quality of the victor's sights and stated that Czech industry was involved in their production far less than required by the invitation to tender.

After the Ministry for Economic Competition launched an examination into the so-far largest Army contract for the modernization of the T-72 tank and the Army had to establish a special commission to investigate the tender for the supply of military jeeps, it is already the third instance of complications in the rearmament of the Army. Thus, the Defense Ministry found itself in a very complex situation because it cannot proceed with the modernization as expected. The Army claims it is powerless in this situation because the law on public tenders enables the Ministry for Economic Competition to deal with controversial cases.

Nevertheless, the Army is convinced that, in the instance of the night sights, as opposed to the other bidders, the Pramacom company has a true Czech basis. The dissatisfied firms of Dyna-trade, Petris Solnice, Zenit, and Belmat, on the other hand, are mostly just trade organizations.

The Czech-French bid excelled, according to the Army, the others also technically. "It is remarkable. When we announced the victor of this tender, I thought it was completely problem-free because thanks to Meopta Prerov, Czech industry was sufficiently represented. But the situation is nevertheless bad," Colonel Zdenek Hejl, from the Defense Ministry, said yesterday.

After the tank tender, the competition for the supply of the night sights is the most attractive Army contract. To begin with, approximately 1,500 assault rifles, machine guns, and rocket launchers are to be equipped with the night sights, which facilitate precise shooting even at night.

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U.S. Defense Secretary Arrives in Slovakia

AU1709201795 Paris AFP in English 1925 GMT 17 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bratislava, Sept 17 (AFP)—US Defence Secretary William Perry on Sunday [17 September] arrived in Bratislava for a day of talks with Slovak leaders, as part of a central European tour focused on contentious plans for NATO enlargement.

On Monday, Perry will meet Slovakian Defence Minister Jan Sitek before talks with President Michal Kovac, followed in turn by talks with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar.

As well as covering the US position on NATO enlargement to central and eastern Europe, Perry's talks in Slovakia will also concentrate on European security and bilateral relations between US and Slovakian armed forces.

After his Slovakian visit, Perry will travel to Prague Monday evening, before moving on to Hungary.

Earlier Sunday, Perry said that United States was committed to deepening military cooperation with Slovenia, following talks in Ljubljana there with Slovenian Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek, Defence Minister Jelko Kacin and Foreign Minister Zoran Thaler.

Perry, who was visiting Slovenia for the first time since its independence from Yugoslavia in 1991, reiterated the importance the US attached to central European countries, saying they were "a very important factor for stability and peace in Europe."

For his part, Drnovsek stressed "the extreme importance Slovenia attaches to relations with the United States."

Perry's visit consolidated a military cooperation accord Slovenia signed with the United States in 1994.

It also comes amid heightened tension between the United States and Russia after Moscow's persistently harsh criticism of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's airstrike campaign against Bosnian Serbs, whom Russia has traditionally backed.

Perry is expected to brief leaders in the four central European countries in advance of a NATO Council meeting on September 20. The meeting is set to approve a study by the western military alliance on the feasibility of extending the Partnership for Peace programme.

Aimed at former Warsaw Pact countries, the programme seeks to expand political and military cooperation throughout Europe.

'Determination '95' Military Exercise Concluded

AU1509141895 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 Sep 95 p 2

[Report by "el": "Fighting at Lest Is Over"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zvolen—The week-long "Determination 95" international military exercise, involving troops from six countries, ended at the Lest military training ground yesterday. Cooperation in solving difficult situations in the course of peacekeeping operations was being practiced. On this occasion, Deputy Prime Minister Jozef Kalman stressed further support for Slovak units' participation in multinational UN peacekeeping forces. He said that a similar exercise is planned for next year, in which the participation of a greater number of countries is being considered. Major General Emil Vestenicky, the commander of the exercise, expressed satisfaction with its course. He said that, with a unit composed of soldiers of the participating countries, he would fulfill similar assignments anywhere in the world.

Kovac Views Son's Abduction, Meciar Conflict

AU1709190095 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 16 Sep 95 p 3

[Interview with Slovak President Michal Kovac by Dagmar Schwelle; place and date not given: "My Son's Case Is Being Politically Abused"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Schwelle] Your son stated in an interview with DIE PRESSE that he is convinced that the Slovak intelligence service is behind his abduction to Austria and that you, his father, are to be discredited by this action. What is your comment on it?

[Kovac] For the time being, I cannot confirm who is behind this kidnapping because the investigating authorities have not supplied me with any information so far. My son proceeds on this assumption because he has felt right from the beginning that his case is being politically used against the president. I have also had this feeling—and I still have it.

[Schwelle] Do you have the impression that the Slovak Foreign Ministry has not done enough for your son, who is imprisoned in Austria?

[Kovac] I am not satisfied with the government's statement on my request that, in the form of a note, our Foreign Ministry should request the return of a citizen who was carried off abroad by force. I do not know a case where a government does not express any interest at all in the return of a citizen. I cannot accept the prime minister's argumentation that this is in contradiction to international agreements.

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[Schwelle] What do you mean to do in your son's case in the next few days?

[Kovac] I am waiting for the decision of the (Austrian) court. We have learned that the judge has made the decision not to extradite my son to Munich, but that he will examine the request for his release on bail in the next few days.

[Schwelle] Do you trust the Slovak investigating authorities to clear up the kidnapping?

[Kovac] I do not want to answer this question. I am interested in further consolidating the people's confidence in the work of the police, the investigating authorities, and the Slovak Information Service. I am very sorry that this case precisely has caused opposite tendencies in the public. At present, I do not have any information; therefore, I have no reason to doubt the credibility of these authorities.

I am sorry that some reactions of the prime minister, the government, and the responsible representatives of the interior ministry are causing doubts in the public. Nevertheless, I believe the police and others who work on the clarification of this case. I am convinced that, in this case and others, the overwhelming majority of our policemen, investigating authorities, and public prosecutors are determined to act according to the law and to clear up the real causes according to their possibilities.

[Schwelle] Do you think your son's case will weaken your position toward the prime minister?

[Kovac] I is hard to foresee how the prime minister will use the situation that has developed regarding my person. For the time being, I can only lean on personal experiences. For example: Today I was received rather cordially with long applause at a meeting with several thousand participants. I get letters, the overwhelming majority of which support me and demand that I not resign.

However, there are also other groups—for example, recently at a meeting with the prime minister in a sports hall. The people there called for my resignation. The prime minister promised those present that he would strive to gain 90 deputies, who are necessary for my removal from office.

If this plan were not to succeed, he promised that, in the November session of the parliament, he would present an amendment to referendums, which would make a faster referendum on my removal possible.

[Schwelle] What could you do against such a referendum?

[Kovac] I will not do anything. If it is achieved, I will certainly avail myself of all opportunities to defend myself against the referendum. I am not afraid of this referendum. I believe that I can defend my office. However, I do not want to initiate a referendum because it costs several million korunas.

[Schwelle] Is such a referendum possible at all according to the constitution?

[Kovac] Constitutional law experts are claiming that it is not possible. The prime minister is obviously aware of it and, therefore, wants to propose an amendment to referendums.

[Schwelle] There are speculations that Meciar will resign as early as this fall. How would you react to his offer of resignation?

[Kovac] Regarding the rumors in the press, Meciar said that it would be out of the question and that it is wishful thinking of the opposition. However, if he were to come to another conclusion, I would not accept his resignation because he has enough support in the parliament. He is obliged to bear the responsibility for this country and to fulfill his election promises and the government statement.

[Schwelle] Both in the EU and NATO, it is heard that Slovakia's membership ambitions are put behind those of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovenia because of the domestic policy turbulence. How do you assess the chances of your state regarding NATO and the EU?

[Kovac] I am still of the opinion that we have the same chances as the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland because the most decisive processes that are going on in the country are aimed at the development of the rule-of-law state, the consolidation of democracy, and the development of the market economy. The steps of our country in the international field clearly show our interest in integrating into the EU and NATO.

The assessment of the situation need contain not only what has happened in this country so far, but also the country's orientation, without any consideration for topical political problems. I suppose these are temporary problems that can be solved in agreement with the democratic principles of our constitution and with written and unwritten commitments to the international public.

[Schwelle] What do you have to say about the boycott of many Hungarian schools at the beginning of school and alleged pressure on the school directors to make propaganda for the controversial alternative schools?

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[Kovac] I think that things should not get so far that our Hungarian fellow citizens express their protests against the alternative school system in this form.

I regard it as a mistake of our school ministry that it has not considered these problems thoroughly and sensitively—above all, that the ministry did not seek to discuss the relevant drafts with Hungarian fellow citizens, school directors, teachers, and representatives of the Hungarian parties.

[Schwelle] How do you assess the economic situation two and a half years after the separation from the Czech Republic?

[Kovac] I assess it positively. The economy is developing in a way other than expected. However, the degree of investment, as well as the influx of foreign capital, is insufficient.

We are aware that the influx of foreign capital is connected not only with economic credibility, but also with domestic policy stability. Unfortunately, from this point of view, we do not succeed in achieving conditions that would deepen the global confidence of investors in our country.

Meciar Interviewed on CEFTA, Economy

LD1509221095 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1610 GMT 15 Sep 95

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Peter Toman on 15 September; place not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Toman] According to the report presented at the government meeting on Tuesday, the state budget deficit was only 1.5 billion korunas at the end of July. However, the trade unions are saying that this—as well as some other good macroeconomic figures—is a result of a restrictive government policy. At the meeting of their confederation this week, the unions debated preparations for their protest rally to be held in Bratislava. The unions are also preparing other legal protest steps to be taken in case the government, as one of their social partners, does not adopt accommodating measures in tackling pressing social issues. What, in the government's view, is the possibility of reaching an agreement with the unions?

[Meciar] The government concluded the general agreement for 1995 with the unions. The government is meeting its obligations conscientiously and with full responsibility. This was stated also by the unions at the last meeting. Demands beyond what is included in the agreement belong in the realm of politicking and pressure. It is not social partnership any more. [passage omitted]

The unions have an irreplaceable position in society. They are trying to find it. Their role is in social partnership, not in political activities substituting for the activities of political parties. This trend to move toward a certain political platform can be seen within the unions since the beginning of 1994. The unions did not manage to abandon it even to this day.

With regard to issues that are the subject of different opinions, such as compensation for fares, had the unions stayed at the table and sought a solution, the citizens would have it already.

The employers and the government have agreed on compensations. They will not wait for the unions to be kind enough to join them at the table, and they will take steps in citizens' interest. Neither the government nor the citizens can be the unions' hostages. [passage omitted]

[Toman] The opposition is saying that the government has changed its philosophy on the privatization of banks and that the government intends to place the banks in the hands of the already privatized production giants. Prime minister, are these concerns justified?

[Meciar] First of all, it is not the government that carries out privatization. The government is excluded from the process of privatization. Privatization is carried out by the National Property Fund. [passage omitted]

The law does not exclude banks from privatization, so the privatization of banks must go through. The question remains who is going to own them. To whom should the ownership go? What will the guarantees be? We believe that the solution could rest in adopting new laws giving citizens guarantees for their deposits—that is, give them security that their savings are guaranteed. This would prevent a situation in which citizens would suffer due to the bankruptcy of an institution or due to a worsening economic situation.

Second, we are trying to find links though which some large companies could guarantee the solvency of financial institutions. There are several projects in this sphere. It is not possible for us today to decide which of them will be chosen by the National Property Fund. This is not new privatization. This is the completion of the already started privatization. Some 34 percent of one bank has already been privatized, 50 percent of another, and some 80 percent of a third. So, every bank has been privatized to some extent and the process in only being completed now. I can see that a political fight is beginning over this remaining part, and I do not understand it very well. If everybody is unselfish and if the political parties cannot own any property, what is the point?

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[Toman] [Passage omitted] The government is debating the plan for the government's legislative tasks. You said yesterday that this plan should include legislation that will replace some legislative semiproducts of the political system. What changes are to be included in the first place?

[Meciar] The present situation, in which we have a constitution but the laws are not in line with either its wording or its spirit, results in tension and pressure. This creates an impression that the constitution is bad. However, the tension and the pressure are due to poor laws and decrees.

First of all, we believe that we have to clearly define the principle and the tools of a referendum. We have to define anew the position of political parties—both from the view of their activities and their economic background. [passage omitted]

Next come social and interest organizations, the so-called third sector, which should also act as a motivational factor and not a factor of destruction in its relations with the state. This sector also needs legal guarantees that nothing will happen as long as it acts in line with the law, that nobody will influence its activity, and that it will be independent. On the other hand, this sector will not be able to act against the interests of the state.

With regard to human rights and freedoms, there are several legal tools that need developing. First of all, the freedom of the press, which so far has not been legally defined. This freedom will guarantee journalists' status and will give people guarantees that what they get is true and they are not misinformed or told lies. In the event that their interests are harmed, such us economic interests, name and honor, they will have the possibility of effectively protecting themselves. [passage omitted]

Outlines Economic Priorities

LD1509213095 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 15 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Slovak cabinet of ministers and state secretaries has been holding talks in Trencianske Teplice for the second day running. At this nontraditional meeting, essential government programs for next year are being prepared. Our reporter Peter Toman asked Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar to assess the talks so far.

[Begin recording] [Toman] One of the documents deals with the priorities of Slovak economic policy for both next year and the longer term. Prime minister, which priorities have you agreed on so far? Which have you agreed on and which are still being discussed?

[Meciar] The economic policy priorities for the year 1996 are defined as follows: In the first place, development and support of exports. In the second place, support for the development of technologies and investments.

With respect to the structure of these priorities, in 1996 we would like to keep up the increasing trend of the GDP, the minimum being 5 percent. We are considering whether to attempt higher growth, whether we have sufficient resources.

We are also assuming that we will again decrease the rate of unemployment next year, which would then be lower than 13 percent. We have actually achieved this goal already despite the fact that, in some cases, many university graduates and college leavers have increased the numbers of unemployed. We need to lower the rate of unemployment substantially under the 13-percent barrier.

We are assuming that we will manage to keep inflation under the 8-percent barrier. Naturally, we are anticipating that national revenue may be affected because we are seriously considering a 2-percent reduction in value-added tax in 1996. We are also discussing many other measures that could be deployed to revitalize the economy.

[Toman] Prime minister, yesterday you indicated that the demands of the ministries exceed the realistically affordable expenditures from the state budget by approximately 90 million korunas [Sk]. Have you managed to reduce or correct these demands?

[Meciar] We have eliminated one-third of these claims, and now we are left with two-thirds of these demands from the ministries. We do not have to reject them totally, but we have to look outside the budget for what is available. There are some Sk160 billion in the [word indistinct] funds of the state budget, while there are about Sk100 billion in other funds—in bank funds, in unblocked funds. Some money might be available from loans or from aid funds abroad. These means could bring effective assistance to Slovakia.

[Toman] It has been suggested that, at the meeting yesterday, you also debated some foreign and political aspects of this economic strategy.

[Meciar] Naturally, we considered the issue of improving our trade balance with Russia, where we have a deficit of 1.2 billion [currency not specified], which we pay in U.S. dollars despite our preference to pay in goods.

We also assessed our chances and our position on international markets. Obviously, the realistic viewpoint of

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us all prevailed. We understand foreign policy not only as the Foreign Ministry's agenda but also as a system of political activities of all government institutions that are developing their particular programs. [end recording]

Report Analyzes Privatization Under Meciar

AU1509170295 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 Sep 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Vladimir Tvaroska: "Direct Sales Worth 29 Billion; Who Is Acquiring Property in Slovakia and How"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The National Property Fund [FNM] Presidium has approved since the beginning of this year a total of 232 direct sales. Their aggregate purchase price was almost 29 billion korunas [Sk]—Sk28,966,574,490. The FNM does not publish what proportion of the purchase price can be deducted in the case of its being invested in the company. However, the aggregate sum of the first installments amounted to less than Sk5.15 billion. In some cases, the first installment represents less than 5 percent of the purchase price.

The first direct sale approved this year (on 2 February) was the sale of 67 percent of the shares of Skloobal Nemsova [container glass manufacturer]. The largest transactions include the sale of 39 percent of Slovnaft [oil refinery] shares to the Slovintegra shareholding company, made up mostly of Slovnaft managers, for Sk6.4 billion, and the sale of 67 percent of Duslo Sala [chemicals] shares to the Prezam employees' shareholding company for Sk2.67 billion. The third-largest transaction was the sale of the Slovensky Hodvab Senica [synthetic fibers] company for some Sk1.3 billion. Approximately the same price was paid by Slovnaft for 51 percent of Benzinol [fuel distributor] shares. The price of Sk1 billion was exceeded also by the sale of 67 percent of Skloplast Trnava [glass manufacturer] shares, which have been bought by the Glasplast employees' shareholding company for almost Sk1.2 billion.

The buyers, among which limited liability companies are clearly dominant, include also one French and two Dutch firms. The purchase price in these sales reached Sk660 million on aggregate. Shareholding companies have been buyers in 56 cases of direct sales this year. Not all of these shareholding companies include employees among its shareholders, and even smaller, naturally, is the number of cases in which employees own at least 50 percent of shares.

No precise data are available, however, because the FNM does not provide any information on the entities to which it sells state property. Likewise, it does not provide any information on the criteria on the basis of which the buyer was selected and on rival bids. Some conditions of the purchase contracts, particularly the period of repayment and the type of investments that can be written off the price, are also unknown. One can thus expect that, frequently, investments that can be deducted from the purchase price also comprise regular replacements that are financed from depreciation and that are not connected with the development of the company.

The FNM Presidium approved the last direct sales on 7 September 1995. Apart from this clearly prevalent privatization method, the FNM has acquired this year only approximately Sk30 million from sales on the capital market (which, however, are very close to direct sales) and Sk271 million from sales by means of public competition.

NRSR Rejects Opposition Role in Monitoring SIS

AU1509130695 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 13 Sep 95 p 2

[Report by TASR, CTK, and "cic": "Igor Urban: Special Parliamentary Body for Supervising the Slovak Information Service Operates Objectively and According to the Law, Even Without Opposition Representatives"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] yesterday rejected the opposition proposal to extend parliamentary control over the activity of secret services by opposition representatives. Aspersions have been cast on the secret services over their alleged involvement in the abduction of the president's son.

During yesterday's parliamentary session, Ivan Simko, deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement, recalled the prime minister's words about the need for reconciliation, but stressed that what counts are deeds and not words. In connection with speculation about the alleged participation of the secret service in the abduction of the president's son, he proposed to include in the agenda of the session the proposal to extend the Special Supervisory Body [OKO] to include opposition representatives. However, Simko's proposal received the support of only 57 of the 131 deputies present and was not passed.

"Personally, I have nothing against the enlargement of OKO," OKO Chairman Igor Urban told NARODNA OBRODA. At the same time he added, however, that this could only be done on the basis of a political agreement between the opposition and the coalition. "In my opinion, OKO operates objectively and according to the law, even without the opposition," he said.

In connection with allegations about the participation of the Slovak Information Service [SIS] in the kidnapping

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of Michal Kovac Jr., Igor Urban said that OKO cannot act on the basis of newspaper reports. He supposes that SIS Director Ivan Lexa will participate in the next OKO meeting and will inform OKO members about the case, though naturally only within the limits of his legal possibilities. As regards the "cleansing" of SIS, Igor Urban said that he is not aware of any well-founded suspicions that would require any "cleansing."

British Ambassador on 'Antidemocratic' Process

95CH0356A Bratislava SME in Slovak 15 Aug 95 p 5

[Unattributed article: "Great Britain Comments on the Situation in Slovakia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On Friday, 19 May, Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk of the Slovak Republic received Peter G. Harborne, British ambassador to Slovakia. The British ambassador was interested in the relationship between Slovakia and the countries of the former Soviet Union in central Asia, in conjunction with the visit made by Deputy Prime Minister S. Kozlik to that region. He particularly requested an explanation of the policy of the Slovak Republic with respect to the Russian Federation, in view of the frequency of mutual visits that have occurred recently between Moscow and Bratislava.

Ambassador P.G. Harborne devoted extraordinary attention to the situation in Slovakia. He noted that the signing of the treaty in Paris between the Slovak Republic and the Hungarian Republic is a contribution toward international stability, but as far as internal stability in Slovakia is concerned, the current events in Slovakia represent a step backward. The ambassador literally stated the following: "We, in Great Britain, are your friends; speaking as a friend, I must tell you that that which has occurred in Slovakia over the past two weeks is not considered by us to be appropriate and useful. We are not concerned about what anybody did, but we feel that the entire basis for investigating the OKO [expansion unknown] is disturbing, as are the facts that this was a process that involved only the representatives of the government coalition, it was held in secret, there was no investigation, and no evidence presented. Only on this basis was there a vote in parliament, and a vote of no confidence in the president resulted. Such a procedure would have been unimaginable in the countries of the European Union and even in the United States; therefore, if it is in Slovakia's interest to adapt to European standards, then this step was not helpful and is indeed a step backward. This is not only my personal view; I also have received instructions to present this position to you."

Minister J. Schenk reacted by stating that "the entire affair will be investigated by the prosecutor general of the Slovak Republic." Ambassador P.G. Harborne responded by saying: "After a period of a certain instability in 1993-94, we had hoped that better relationships would exist between the president and the government, the president and parliament, and even within parliament itself. The method of the above-mentioned procedure is a serious step toward destabilizing the president. According to us, it is regrettable that the step to remove the president was based on a process that would have been unimaginable in a democratic country. The investigative organ, made up only of representatives of the coalition, is functioning in secret without the possibility of verifying evidence by those who are accused. This casts a bad light on the Slovak Republic. I regret that I must state this: It is a basic fact that we are not in harmony with European standards. This intensifies tensions between the government and the opposition, and between the government and the president. This process is undemocratic and even antidemocratic and the result is tension and instability, something that does not help the Slovak Republic. What will happen next?"

According to Minister J. Schenk, "In the Western countries, they are obviously unable to visualize what is happening here. It is not possible for the president to organize economic activities for himself, to make use of secret information in support of his own political activities."

Ambassador P.G. Harborne: "We do not wish to check on whether he did one thing or another. In the case of President Nixon, which was clearly a prima facie case, the investigating committee was made up of members of both parties of Congress, the investigation was conducted openly, all evidence was presented, a special prosecutor was appointed in the person of A. Fox, and so forth. None of this happened in the Slovak Republic. The substance is one thing, but the process is undemocratic from the viewpoint of European standards and represents a step backward. There must be open verification of assertions. Otherwise, it looks as though the government wants to remove the president (the English-language original statement was 'to get the president'). The OKO's headquarters only initiated this process. Parliament did not have to immediately vote no confidence in the president, which has resulted in manifestations of antagonism. It should have first been turned over to the prosecutor. Also, the selection of members to serve on the committee to investigate the events of March 1994 remains a question; here

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again, only members of the government coalition are represented. I hope that you will seriously evaluate the results of this committee. They will constitute a further test of the readiness of the Slovak Republic for a democratic approach toward integration with the European Union and NATO. These questions will also be on the agenda at Brussels and do Slovakia no good. I hope that you will explain these viewpoints even within the government."

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Izetbegovic: Division of Sarajevo Unacceptable

AU1509160195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 15 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation headed by President Alija Izetbegovic ended the second round of talks with the U.S. mediatory team in Mostar today. President Izetbegovic, among other things, said that the division of Sarajevo will not be accepted by Bosnian side. Mirsad Behran reports from Mostar:

Today we mostly talked about two issues, President Izetbegovic said after [words indistinct] second meeting with U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke here in Mostar. As regards Sarajevo, [words indistinct] the siege of the city must be lifted and Sarajevo must remain a unified city, the president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency pointed out.

As regards the second question, he said that touched upon was the so-called transitional period where elections were discussed the most. The (?Bosniak) side is of the opinion, Mr. Izetbegovic said, that the elections may be held only if two basic [word indistinct] (?are met): That [words indistinct] return of refugees (?to their homes) be made possible throughout our country and that democratic institutions be established that would make free elections possible. In our opinion, President Izetbegovic said, in the meantime one should [word indistinct] republican institutions—Presidency, Government, and Parliament—whose activity must be [word indistinct].

U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke said that he possesses some reports that two [word indistinct] in the capital city of Bosnia-Herzegovina have already been established, but that this is not enough. Mr. Holbrooke pointed out that the siege of Sarajevo must be lifted and that the United States believes that if no activities in conformity with said principles are [word indistinct], the NATO air raids will take place again. He finally said that the allies have been closely following the events [words indistinct].

Our delegation to the Mostar round of talks includes President Izetbegovic, Prime Minister Silajdzic, Federation President Zubak, and Bosnia-Herzegovina Government Minister Hasan Muratovic. Taking part on the U.S. side are U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke, U.S. Ambassador to Bosnia-Herzegovina John Menzies, and General [name indistinct].

We have learned from unofficial sources that the road to Sarajevo via Ilidza and [name indistinct] has been opened.

Izetbegovic on Need To Meet Election Conditions

AU1509162095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 15 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received the statement by President Izetbegovic following the talks with the U.S. [words indistinct]:

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] Today, we mostly talked about two issues. One of them was [word indistinct] Sarajevo and the other is the so-called transitional period.

Regarding Sarajevo, we agreed that the siege on Sarajevo must (?be lifted), that [word indistinct] must remain a unified city, and that a solution must be found in this respect.

Regarding the transitional period, there is the question of elections [word indistinct] should be held. [words indistinct] until the elections and after them.

In our opinion, these elections can only be held if two basic conditions are met. They are that the return of refugees be made possible throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina, so that the disturbed demographic (?picture) will be corrected everywhere. The other condition is to establish democratic institutions that enable (?free) elections, that is, free press, the possibility of [words indistinct].

In our opinion, in the meantime [words indistinct] republic, Presidency, Government, and Parliament should continue working. This is [words indistinct] stand. [end recording]

Izetbegovic Confirms Mostar Talk Stands

AU1509190395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 15 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At the meeting in Mostar today, President Izetbegovic confirmed our country's stands that were presented at the beginning of the peace process:

All the aggressor's heavy weapons of 12.7mm caliber and above must be removed from positions within the 20-km exclusion zone around the city. The international forces, NATO and the Rapid Reaction Force, must respect obligations taken also concerning all other security zones and not refrain from demands for opening roads and airports.

The Bosnian delegation is of the opinion that all proposals that call into question the implementation of these demands and ultimatums that NATO imposed on the Serb aggressor should not be accepted. The Bosnian

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side defines humanitarian aid as all commodities apart from weapons, and its delivery must not be limited.

Communications, roads, and railroads cannot be considered opened simply by removing physical obstacles and control points that the aggressor set. They are considered opened only if aggressor's forces are at such a distance from these communications that they are unable of disconnecting those at any moment.

The proposal that the aggressor's side made to NATO mean deriding this institution, and the Bosnian side expects NATO to reject them and remain consistent to the obligations it had taken.

Izetbegovic, France's Millon on Peace Process

LD1609152995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 16 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic today received French Defense Minister Charles Millon, Bosnia-Herzegovina Press reports. Minister Millon confirmed France's resolve to persevere with the activities aimed at protecting the Sarajevo safe zone and lifting the blockade of communications and of Sarajevo airport.

President Izetbegovic confirmed Bosnia-Herzegovina's readiness to establish a just peace throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina, and stressed that the removal of part of the aggressors' heavy weapons did not mean the lifting of the siege of Sarajevo. According to President Izetbegovic, these communications could not be safe as long as aggressor forces were in their immediate vicinity.

France was interested in contributing to the acceleration of the peace process, said Millon.

Special attention was devoted to the Mostar meeting between the delegations led by President Izetbegovic and Assistant U.S. State Secretary Richard Holbrooke. Both sides expressed conviction that peace efforts should be continued.

Sarajevo Still Vulnerable

LD1609120895 Paris France-2 Television Network in French 1100 GMT 16 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] French Defense Minister Charles Millon, who has been in Sarajevo since yesterday evening, met Bosnian President Izetbegovic this morning. It seems that the meeting did not go terribly well, with Mr. Millon asking Mr. Izetbegovic to show great understanding in the present situation.

Giles Rabine, why did the meeting not go as well as might be expected?

[Rabine] Well, the talks have stumbled on the question of defining what exactly is a heavy weapon. The Holbrooke agreement provides for the withdrawal of all artillery of more than 100 mm caliber—a technical but not insignificant detail. So mortars like the 80 mm one that killed 41 people at a Sarajevo market just over two weeks ago are not covered by the agreement.

President Izetbegovic pointed out that the agreement could not avert a new tragedy of the same kind occurring whenever the Serbs chose to cause it. [passage omitted]

Izetbegovic's Address to Bosnian Assembly

LD1709210995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1635 GMT 17 Sep 95

[Address by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, to a Bosnian Assembly session in Sarajevo—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. Speaker, people's deputies, and honored guests. My address will not probably encompass such a wide-ranging issue on the agenda—the current political situation and the new peace initiative, but it will deal with perhaps the most important issue and that is the latest peace initiatives, i.e. the U.S. initiative and the Geneva Agreement.

Therefore, my address will consist of a brief commentary on what we recently accepted in Geneva and a proposal on new steps that, in my opinion, should be taken next.

First, I will begin by assessing that the statement issued after the ministerial meeting in Geneva consists of only basic principles. However, certain vital issues are sufficiently clear.

1. First: it has been established that Bosnia-Herzegovina continues to exist as a legitimate internationally recognized state with its current borders.

This undoubtedly means that Bosnia-Herzegovina is a state that has and will have a constitution and its internationally recognized institutions that will protect the territorial integrity of the country.

Second: the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina will contain two entities, each having a high degree of autonomy, but this is an issue for its internal setup. This is a state organization containing several layers. The state will not be unitary. Considerable decentralization will be carried out. The federation and the entity with a majority Serb population will have broad competences, but there will also be central bodies that will have their own competences.

Third: a constitution whose principles are to be determined in the course of the peace process will determine

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the electoral system and composition of the parliament, government and other bodies of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The competences of these bodies will also be determined by the constitution, but it is certain that they have to be of such a nature as to enable the implementation of rights and duties that Bosnia-Herzegovina has as an internationally recognized state. This is what stems from the international law—the authority and obligations of a sovereign state must rest within the jurisdiction of the state bodies of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Fourth: in the interim period—until new state bodies have been elected in accordance with future constitutional solutions, the legitimate bodies of Bosnia-Herzegovina will continue to exist—the Assembly, Presidency, and the Government will continue to discharge their duties.

This is the essence of the provision contained in the fundamental principles, I am quoting, that Bosnia-Herzegovina will continue its legitimate existence, as is written in [words indistinct] of those principles. It is also clear from other provisions in the fundamental principles that neither the federation nor the entity with the Serb majority population have the status of internationally recognized states, and therefore cannot have competences stemming from it.

Fifth: An interim period is necessary for the preparation and holding of elections for the parliaments and other bodies in the federation and in the entity with the Serb majority population and for the parliament and bodies of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This interim period is needed to stabilize peace and especially [words indistinct].

Massive killing and ethnic cleansing in many areas have brutally changed the ethnic picture of Bosnia. Therefore, conditions are not ripe for immediate democratic elections. Those who have committed crimes against the population cannot be legitimate representatives [words indistinct]. Therefore, interim arrangements are an important part of an integral peace agreement.

Sixth: The current bodies of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina—the Assembly, the Presidency, and the Government—enjoy full legitimacy. These bodies have been elected democratically and in accordance with the constitution. These bodies include representatives of all nations. They do not include people who have been charged with war crimes. These are the bodies whose legitimacy has been recognized by around 100 countries and whose representatives have been accepted by the United Nations.

Hence, in the interim period, until new elections have been held, it is only these bodies that can discharge duties that Bosnia-Herzegovina has as an internationally recognized state. This is important from another point of view, because it is only the legitimate bodies of Bosnia-Herzegovina that can endorse an agreement. Otherwise it will not have any legal validity.

2. While establishing special links the entities must respect the sovereignty of the internationally recognized state of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

First: The entities can set up special relations only with the neighboring countries with which the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina has diplomatic relations; I stress, only with the countries with which Bosnia-Herzegovina has established diplomatic relations.

Second: Agreements on foreign relations that the entities reach are subject to endorsement by parliament of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Third: The entities cannot set up special relations with neighboring countries in the political and military spheres. Political and military cooperation is exclusively within the purview of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Fourth: One entity cannot set up special relations to the detriment of either the other entity or the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a whole.

3. The constitutions of the entities must be viable to adjustment in line with the principles to be set by the peace agreement and, especially, well, first, in case of controversy, they must be in line with the constitution of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and if there is a controversy, the decision will rest with the Constitutional Court. In the initial period the Constitional Court judges will be delegated by international institutions.

Second: The constitutions of the entities will be adopted by a two-thirds majority by the entities' legislative bodies to be set up following elections.

4. Territorial issues to be resolved on the basis of the acceptance of the Contact Group's plan. This means:

First: The Contact Group's maps can be revised during negotiations jointly, by consensus, in other words agreement, only.

Second: A deadline must be set for completing negotiations on the maps.

Third: Upon the expiry of the deadline, that part of the Contact Group map that was not changed by consensus becomes valid.

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5. Guarantees of the refugees' right to return imply the following in particular:

First: All refugees enjoy the right to return to their homes irrespective of whether they are currently in the country or abroad. This right must be defined as their permanent and inalienable right.

Second: Compensation for damage for seized and damaged property does not exclude the right to return home.

Third: International guarantees for the realization of the right to return have to be permanent. The entity that denies the right of return will be subjected to international sanctions.

Fourth: The international community, within an appropriate timescale—four years for instance—must be directly involved in monitoring the implementation of the right to return and guaranteeing the returnees' safety.

Fifth: Those areas populated by population that is not majority population of the federation or of the Serb entity will enjoy a high degree of autonomy in the sphere of education, culture, radio, TV, police, and so on, and the right to establish special links with the other entity.

Sixth: Population data established by the 1991 census will be used at least for 10 years as the basis for defining different rights on the territory of both parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina, for the composition of bodies with regard to national representation, and for other official purposes.

6. The commission and (?corporation) under point three of the basic principles are considered temporary bodies that will function in the interim period. [Words indistinct] jurisdiction within the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Their duties will be taken over by the Bosnia-Herzegovina state bodies upon the expiry of the interim period.

7. In addition to previous stands referring to the implementation of the fundamental principles, the peace plan will, in our view, have to contain the following elements: Territorial solutions—maps; constitutional solutions [words indistinct]; regulations referring to the interim period—these are transitional arrangements; guarantees and participation of the international community in the implementation of the plan; and the program of international aid for the reconstruction and development of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Negotiations on the above-mentioned parts of the plan can be conducted separately or simultaneously, but the key principle is the following:

Nothing has been resolved until everything has been resolved. Nothing has been resolved until everything has been resolved [sentence repeated twice].

With regard to the use of the name of the country in further phases of the peace process, the official title of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina must be consistently used. The change of the name of the country is negotiable in future talks, on condition that the new name always contains the name of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, with some possible additions, such as federal republic or something similar.

I think that under the above-mentioned conditions, the Geneva plan is acceptable, despite all its deficiencies and bad sides.

In conclusion of this brief and inevitably dry report, I am hopeful it will serve to understand better our position and be an introduction into the discussion that is coming up in the assembly. Thank you Mr. Speaker [applause].

Izetbegovic: Cease-Fire Hinges on Gas, Water Supply

LD1709185495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 17 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, today received General Rupert Smith, commander of UN forces for Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Antonio Pedauye, head of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] Civilian Sector. Their talks were also attended by Muhamed Sacirbegovic, Bosnia-Herzegovina minister of foreign affairs.

Gen. Smith informed President Izetbegovic about the withdrawal of the Serb artillery from around Sarajevo. According to him, the aggressor side has withdrawn around 150 heavy weapons from the 20 km exclusion zone.

With regard to cease-fire talks for the Sarajevo region, Izetbegovic said these talks are conditional on the normalization of water, gas, and electricity supplies in Sarajevo, issues that must not be used for military purposes in line with the international law.

Silajdzic Dissatisfied With Arms Withdrawal Plan

LD1609184495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 16 Sep 95

[Interview with Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by correspondent Sabina Trkulj; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Trkulj] Mr. Premier, how do you view the agreement between Mr. Holbrooke and the aggressor side on the withdrawal from around Sarajevo

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of guns from 100 mm upward, and not 12.7 mm and over, as demanded by NATO?

[Silajdzic] This means that they would be left with 82 mm and 60 mm, and everything else around Sarajevo. It is precisely these 60-mm and 82-mm pieces that killed most of the 10,000 people that have been killed in Sarajevo so far.

Mr. Holbrooke said explicitly that he does not agree with this document, and that this was something the Serb terrorists agreed upon among themselves. We hope, therefore, that this is the first step, only the first step, and that NATO will continue to insist that the Serb terrorists respect to the letter the NATO demand for the withdrawal of heavy weapons.

I am against the opening of our roads for humanitarian reasons—humanitarian means that we are under siege; humanitarian aid is only for the dying and those under siege, those living abnormally. We in Sarajevo have been living like this for more than three years, and we want this to stop. In other words, the siege of Sarajevo has not been lifted; the roads have not been opened; the heavy weapons—even if they withdraw pieces of 100 mm and more—will not mean that heavy weapons have been withdrawn, because 82 mm and 60 mm pieces remain. In all, the situation is only slightly better than it was before.

I doubt NATO wanted to carry out 3,500 sorties and then leave us in Sarajevo under siege. This could have serious implications for the entire peace process.

[Trkulj] Are you saying that the peace process is in jeopardy, that NATO [words indistinct] respect?

[Silajdzic] It depends on the events; if this is only the first step, and if NATO insists that everything be withdrawn, that the roads be opened—that is, that the roads are no longer controlled by Serb terrorists but by, say, the Rapid Reaction Force—then things would be different.

However, if this is definitive—if we are left with 82-mm and 60-mm guns around Sarajevo, and if these so-called humanitarian routes remain under the control of Serb terrorists—then this will have very serious consequences for the entire peace process. I will tell you why: Because this would mean that the international community is again ready for concessions to the Serb terrorists, under pressure from, for instance, the Russian Government or whatever; so the question is again raised—if so, who will implement any kind of peace agreement on the ground, that is, who will force the Serb terrorists to withdraw to the lines specified by the peace agreement? This is the fundamental question—a question of trust.

Prime Minister: Sarajevo Still Under Siege

AU1609201595 Paris AFP in English 1930 GMT 16 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Sept 16 (AFP)—Sarajevo remains besieged despite initial signs that Serb artillery is being withdrawn from around the city, Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic said Saturday [16 September].

"Even if the Serbs comply fully with their own agreement, Sarajevo is still under siege," he told reporters here Saturday. [passage omitted]

"There is a strange redefinition of what heavy arms actually means," Silajdzic said referring to an earlier NATO ultimatum demanding all weapons above 12.7 mm calibre leave the TEZ.

The Bosnian premier said that meant there would still be heavy weaponry around Sarajevo. "60 and 80 mm mortars are what killed 10,000 people in the city," he said.

"I'm afraid this is not a very good development and it can influence the continuation of the peace process," the premier warned.

According to the UN here only one fifth of Serb artillery around Sarajevo has been withdrawn by Saturday evening.

Momcilo Krajisnik, speaker of the "parliament" of Bosnian Serbs, said in Pale Saturday that the Serbs were withdrawing artillery "to the extent that would not jeopardize our defensive capability in Sarajevo."

Silajdzic said the Bosnians were informed by Holbrooke during the meeting in Mostar Thursday that neither Holbrooke nor the US administration had accepted the Serb proposal.

He said Holbrooke "explicity said this is not my proposal. This is a Serb proposal, and we completely disagree."

The Bosnian premier expressed his hope that NATO would continue to press for full compliance by the Serbs for a complete withdrawal of all heavy weapons.

"Nothing helped in the past three years but the NATO airstrikes. If NATO continues then we are very close to peace, if they back down then we are very far away from it," he concluded.

Silajdzic said the Bosnian side had not been asked to put their heavy weapons under UN control, something the Serbs insist on. But he added, the UN "can have it any time. It's a very short list anyway."

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Sacirbegovic Says Geneva Accord 'Suits Us'

AU1809084095 Sarajevo LJILJAN in Serbo-Croatian 13 Sep 95 p 4

[Interview with Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic by Dzemaludin Latic; place and date not given: "Belgrade Has Implicitly Recognized Bosnia, and Willy Claes Is Asking Our Country To Become a NATO Member!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Latic] Mr. Sacirbegovic, as soon as the Geneva meeting ended, different interpretations of the so-called basic document started. What have you actually signed?

[Sacirbegovic] The paper signed in Geneva is a document that sets out some basic elements as a basis for further negotiations. Everything that has been agreed and signed in this paper will only become valid when we reach the end of peace talks and sign a peace accord. Therefore, this is not a peace agreement and, on the basis of this document, all the sides can still be asked to compromise. The most important thing that this document secures is the integrity and sovereignty of Bosnia-Herzegovina, although some give prominence to the fact that the document mentions the name of the so-called Serb Republic [Serb-held entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina]. It must be borne in mind that in the first sentence of the document the stable existence of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina is guaranteed, with its name, institutions, Constitution, and everything that makes our state a proper state. Even if it comes to the forming of a "Serb entity," even under the name "the Serb Republic," it would mean a concoction without sovereignty.

With this document, our situation has greatly improved in comparison with that of three months ago, when we were being asked to make many concessions during talks with the Contact Group, Bildt, Frasure, and Milosevic. They were asking for mutual recognition, with Belgrade recognizing a union of the Federation and the so-called Serb Republic, which would form a confederation with Serbia and Montenegro. The most dubious thing in those negotiations was the chance of the continuation of th stable existence of our state under its own name, and with its institutions, and its Constitution. And, most important, the current situation on the ground has improved greatly to our advantage.

[Latic] Our public is afraid of the possible exchange of territories and particularly the fate of Gorazde?

[Sacirbegovic] Gorazde remains in the Federation. Only minor changes on the ground are possible, on which both sides agree.

[Latic] Has there been agreement on the status of Sarajevo?

[Sacirbegovic] According to the Contact Group plan, Sarajevo was supposed to be under UN control and its future was to be determined in two or three years. Now it has been stated quite clearly that Sarajevo remains the capital of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and that it will be an undivided city.

[Latic] Yesterday we were watching the television news from Belgrade. They are celebrating, claiming that in Geneva the Serb Republic was internationally recognized, and are calling it an "historic" day, with Milosevic receiving congratulations, etc. Who obtained the status of international recognition in Geneva?

[Sacirbegovic] The Serbs will make their own propaganda. There is nothing to be done about that. But the Geneva paper only recognizes a Serb entity within the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Moreover, Belgrade has recognized the sovereignty of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

This Serb entity, whatever it is called, must respect the democratic laws that enable democratic elections and the return of displaced persons and it will have to extradite its war criminals to the international tribunal in The Hague. This entity will be isolated for as long as they do not respect what I have just mentioned and only then will they be able to be integrated into the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and obtain international respect, but in no way international recognition as a sovereign state.

We will have to swallow many other things, but this process suits us.

[Latic] Three constitutions are being mentioned, of the Republic, the Federation, and the Serb entity. What is their relationship to one another?

[Sacirbegovic] The Washington agreement already speaks about two constitutions: The Constitution of the Republic and the Constitution of the Federation, which is in that republic. It is clear that there is only one internationally recognized state and that the other two entities are included in it. The "Serb Republic" will have to correct its constitution in many places, particularly where it represents itself as an independent state; it will have to adapt that constitution to the Republic Constitution.

[Latic] As you were negotiating in Geneva, NATO was attacking the Chetniks' positions. Is there a parallel between these two things?

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[Sacirbegovic] There is certainly a connection between the negotiations and the NATO air strikes. It is clear that Mladic will never be stopped with a piece of paper.

[Latic] We have learned from the foreign media that with its air strikes NATO is protecting a future member, the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that this is the main reason that the strongest international military power is intervening against the aggressor. Your predecessor, the late Irfan Ljubjankic, was working on our state's participation in the Partnership for Peace program. You have had some meetings with NATO today. Is this story true?

[Sacirbegovic] On 10 September, I will be meeting Willy Claes. We will once more be talking about this as well. I met him last week and we talked about NATO's role in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mr. Claes is very enthusiastic about the idea of Bosnia becoming a NATO member and entering the Partnership for Peace program as a full member. That will mean much to us in the future. First, it will confirm our sovereignty, then it will give us the opportunity of economic and military cooperation with the most developed countries of the West, and, finally, in the field of defense it will mean much in relations with our neighbors: in diverting them from possible ambitions that endanger the sovereignty of our state.

[Latic] Yesterday, during the negotiations and NATO air strikes, Russian President Yeltsin threatened war throughout Europe, if NATO continued to bomb the chetniks. How do you and your colleagues from the EU countries view Yeltsin's threats?

[Sacirbegovic] Had the NATO air strikes ceased with Yeltsin's threats, they could hardly be resumed again. But they did not stop.... We know where Russia's sympathies lie, particularly those of some of its ultranationalists. When Yeltsin says that the NATO and Rapid Reaction Force [RRF] attacks are not in accordance with the peace talks, he is wrong, because Geneva has shown the reverse. Geneva is the best answer to all those who would like to put NATO back into the position of maintaining the status quo. The NATO air strikes may stop when the criminal Mladic shows his willingness to respect ultimatums, both now and in the future.

[Latic] What are the next steps in the peace process?

[Sacirbegovic] It is to be expected that there will be a major meeting on the peace process. Until then there will be some more "shuttle diplomacy." I think that we should invite the U.S. delegation to visit Sarajevo to meet with a larger delegation of ours. Hitherto now we have had discussions outside Sarajevo. Although the decision to put my signature on the document is not only mine but that of the Presidency and of the entire negotiating team, all important state decisions are made in the Assembly. The final decision on this agreement will be made by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly.

[Latic] Last night Mr. Zuzul [not further identified], commenting on the Geneva meeting on Croatian television, praised the support that the Bosnian side had given to the Republic of Croatia in its rights concerning eastern Slavonia. The question is: Is that disputed territory linked with the crisis in our republic or will it be treated separately?

[Sacirbegovic] We obey international law and for us eastern Slavonia is in Croatia. In the talks about eastern Slavonia, there was no discussion about its sovereignty, but only its reintegration into the Republic of Croatia in a future peace plan. But the Serbs were not ready to accept this.

[Latic] Has Milosevic recognized Bosnia and Croatia in Geneva or not?

[Sacirbegovic] The recognition of Bosnia by Belgrade has not been explicit, but the negotiations of the three ministers mean negotiations of three states. By the act of negotiating with us, Belgrade recognizes us. We are not negotiating with Pale, but with Belgrade.

[Latic] Before meeting the representatives of the Contact Group, you met with the representatives of the Islamic countries. Will the Islamic countries now be changing their policy toward the West and Bosnia after the turbulent changes of the last weeks?

[Sacirbegovic] It could rather be said that the policy of the West has come closer to the policy of the Islamic countries than the other way around.

At the last meeting of the Organization of Islamic Countries and the Contact Group of European countries for Bosnia, on 22 July this year, I sat on the same side of the table with the group of Islamic countries and I said that Europe had forgotten that I could also sit on the other side, which could be important, even though we were a small country. After that meeting there came a change. For the first time we have a European country, France, which is explicitly differentiating the victim from the aggressor and is displaying the will to solve the Bosnian problems. Not in the way of creating a just peace, but it certainly wants a degree of justice to be found in all this.

And all this is the result of the new initiatives of the Islamic countries and the U.S. Congress.

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Commentary: Holbrooke Plan 'Callous Pragmatism'

AU1809093595 Ljubljana OSLOBODJENJE (European edition) in Serbo-Croatian 14-21 Sep 95 p 2

[Commentary by Gojko Beric: "The Peace Will Be as Good as the Plan Is"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The specter of callous pragmatism is on the move through Europe. Just as in everything else, the United States sets the example. Proof of this lies its decision to impose "a bitter peace" on Bosnia, condensed as an intention to do in several weeks what has not been done in several years. This time, the Americans appeared with a new instruction: Stand in line and you will all get something! To stand in line in this case meant to sit down at the table in Geneva and sign less than a page and a half of typed text, written with the aim of being called the historic agreement on peace on the Balkans.

But as soon as the three ministers had departed, everything fell into doubt. And this doubt was provoked by the fact that nobody was indicating any particular dissatisfaction. One could see why: Everybody could question or play down what they did not like in the agreement. Mate Granic talked more about Baranja than about Bosnia-Herzegovina. That is probably in the order of Croatian interests. Muhamed Sacirbegovic evaluated the agreement as a "small step towards peace," whereas, in the interpretation of Milutin Milutinovic, the new head of Milosevic's diplomacy, the Geneva step is much greater. These standpoints more or less inspired the political moods in Zagreb, Sarajevo, and Belgrade. The reactions of Zagreb are intertwined with anger because the Americans did not force the Serbs to sign an agreement on the reintegration of Baranja as well. The Sarajevo authorities have been convincing the public that Bosnia-Herzegovina will survive within its borders, whereas Belgrade denies this.

America's recognition to the self-proclaimed Serb Republic [Serb-held entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina] has provoked extremely negative reactions among the Bosniaks and all those who cannot bring themselves to accept the division of Bosnia. This tide of disappointment has not only been caused by a fear of losing their state, but also by a feeling that those who caused this human tragedy will never be punished for their crimes. For two days on television, President Izetbegovic was trying to explain the reasons he had accepted the U.S. plan. He pointed out that it was a compromise "and every compromise tastes bitter." Izetbegovic does not claim that there is no alternative to this option. There is: the continuation of the war. But, would it unify Bosnia and how much would such a unification cost?

Although on the Bosniak side there are reasons to feel dejected, the mental state of the Bosnian Serbs is incomparably more difficult: They have to give back a considerable part of the occupied territories though, at the same time, they are asking for more territorial concessions. In the U.S. decision to recognize their state, Karadzic and company find arguments for their own triumph. A year ago, Momcilo Krajisnik explained the stubbornness of the Bosnian Serbs in rejecting the Contact Group plan in the following way: "We have gone too far and we cannot go back now." He knew that all the bridges behind them had been burnt. Now, Krajisnik sends a message to Milosevic: "You see, we were right not to listen to you last summer." In the meantime, Milosevic has taken all the responsibility for the moves of the Bosnian Serbs. And that, in the concrete case, is a greater risk than the responsibility for his own moves.

The first serious symptoms of Milosevic's lack of power to carry out the duties undertaken have appeared. Karadzic and Mladic still have enough strength to hold their boss in their embrace. [sentence as published] It is symptomatic that the same argument—recognition of the Serb Republic—is used by Milosevic as an essential proof of his political ingenuity. With his incredible campaign in the media, he has started with the mass hypnosis of Serbia, neglected, demoralized, ruralized, and degenerated by the sanctions. So much primitivism, lying propaganda, and moral anguish overcoming an entire nation has never been seen before in this region. Everything is subordinated to one goal: to prove that Milosevic is the god of peace and the savior of all Serbs. In the West, which holds the switch for the lifting of sanctions against Serbia, this bombastic propaganda will not provoke a change of attitude towards Milosevic, so it is obvious that these loud bells are intended for domestic consumption.

The Americans are trying to impose a quick peace, taking little care of ethnic cleansing and the forcible changing of previous conditions. If a miracle happens and they succeed, it will not last long. Those who before Geneva claimed that there was no serious U.S. plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina were right. The Americans came to Geneva as the instructors of the international community. And that is too little for Balkan conflicts.

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Delic Interviewed on Successes, Maps, Annexation

LD1609172895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 16 Sep 95

[Interview with Army General Rasim Delic, commander of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army General Staff, by correspondent Nada Al Isa in Zagreb on 16 September—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Al Isa] Mr. General, can you comment on the latest brilliant successes of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army—of all corps, but especially the 5th Corps—in the Bihac area?

[Delic] I expected these successes, as planned, but I could not know when they would take place. About two months ago I told the Bosnia television and radio viewers and listeners that the time of change was about to come, and that we should be patient and persistent. We have been patient and persistent, and the results followed. My congratulations to all members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. All corps have been successful, one after another, but what is important is that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army is successful.

[Al Isa] Croatian newspapers have lately reported on new maps for the division of Bosnia. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army says it would strive at all costs to preserve a single Bosnia. Can you comment on this?

[Delic] We have seen a great deal of maps. However, the maps are drawn on the ground, and there have been several versions of these maps. It is up to us, in accordance with the political decisions of the state leadership—the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency—to do our job, while those who have been drawing one, two, or five maps will have to draw them again.

[Al Isa] One more thing. Your appeal to all able-bodied people; they say there is another, 8th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army abroad. Should they be asked to return?

[Delic] Not just one corps; there are nearly as many of them as the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army now numbers. My appeal is a quotation from one of my interviews: Bosnia is here, it is here that we have to fight for peace.

[Al Isa] Bosnia is also being liberated in a joint action with the Croatian Defense Council and the Croatian forces. I have to say that some circles, mostly international, expressed concern after yesterday's announcement in Croatia that Glamoc, Grahovo, and the other liberated areas would automatically be annexed to so-called Herzeg-Bosnia. How do you view this?

[Delic] I do not think this is fair, given that combat operations were carried out in coordination with them, and that it was understood that the political solution would determine the future internal organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In any case, all previous peace initiatives called on the people to return to their homes. Consequently, the people who lived in these areas should have the final say.

Bildt Appeals to Muslims To Halt Offensive

LD1709201395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1846 GMT 17 Sep 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept. 17 (TANJUG)—E.U. mediator Carl Bildt in Sarajevo on Sunday appealed to the Muslim army to halt its offensive against Serbs in northern Bosnia.

The AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE news agency quoted Bildt, who co-chairs the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia together with Thorvald Stoltenberg, as saying that he hoped a ceasefire would be reached and war ended as soon as possible.

Bildt was quoted as speaking after a meeting with Bosnian Muslim Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic.

Bildt arrived in Sarajevo early on Sunday to meet with ranking Muslim officials, who had refused to receive him in August, alleging that he had had secret talks with Serbs.

Muslim-Croat forces were on Sunday deployed on accesses to the major northern Bosnian Serb towns of Sanski Most and Prijedor, AFP said. Muslims and Croats also continued their conquests in the Bihac region.

The launching of the Muslim-Croat offensive nearly coincided with the suspension of the 15-day NATO air strikes, in which the largest part of the Bosnian Serb infrastructure and military and economic potentials had been destroyed.

Although fighting can affect political talks, the peace process has not failed, Bildt said but admitted that it was jeopardized.

Silajdzic, for his part, said he did not know what was going on in northern Bosnia, AFP said.

UK Foreign Secretary Rifkind Arrives for Talks On Bosnian Army Offensive

AU1809114295 Paris AFP in English 1000 GMT 18 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Sept 18 (AFP)—British Foreign Secretary Malcolm Rifkind, who has

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criticised the ongoing offensive by Moslem and Croat forces in Bosnia, arrived in Sarajevo Monday [18 September] to meet Bosnian leaders.

Rifkind touched down in a British Hercules cargo plane shortly after 10.30 a.m. (0830 GMT). He was due to meet President Alija Izetbegovic, Foreign Minister Mohamed Sacirbegovic and Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic from whom he is likely to get a frosty reception.

Commenting on the Bosnian Army offensive in northwest Bosnia Rifkind said that only "a political settlement that will bring peace and stability to the region." [as received]

"I believe we all know that at the end of the day no military initiative by itself will provide the political stability that the people of Bosnia need. One sees that the fortunes of war go back and forward.

"When Srebrenica and Zepa fell it looked as if the Bosnian Serbs would go on regardless. Now the Bosnian and Croatians are doing very well, but at the end of the day there is only a political settlement that will bring peace and stability to the region," Rifkind said.

Srebrenica and Zepa were two UN safe areas overrun by the Bosnian Serb Army in July. Up to 40,000 people were displaced by the action and 8,000 people are still missing amid reports and evidence that many may have been executed by the Serb forces.

Government officials have defended the army offensive into areas seized by the Serbs at the beginning of the war and "ethnically cleansed" of its Moslem population.

"This is the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We are trying to liberate it, not take it but to liberate it, there is a fascist aggression on our country and we shall go anywhere it requires," Silajdzic said Sunday.

On the Bosnian Serbs removal of some of its heavy weapons around the Bosnian capital, Rifkind said he was "very pleased that we seem to have made very good progress on the withdrawal of heavy weapons. It was a crucial requirement."

"We now have another 72-hour pause. Hopefully we will see the completion of that exercise. We can concentrate then on the diplomatic initiative and take it forward," he said.

A NATO-UN deadline for the possible resumption of air strikes against the Serbs was extended to 2000 GMT Wednesday to enable the Serbs to pull back the remainder of their big guns under a deal struck with US diplomats last week.

Sarajevo Visit 'Crucial Step'

LD1809123395 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1217 GMT 18 Sep 95

[By Charlie Miller, PA News Defence Correspondent, in Sarajevo]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Foreign Secretary Malcolm Rifkind today said his visit to Sarajevo was a crucial step in convincing the Bosnian Serbs that the city and the United Nations should be respected. Asked if the joint Muslim and Croat offensives in western Bosnia might derail the peace process, he admitted military activity was inevitable. But he emphasised: "What one hopes is that it will not distract people from the fact that they must get round the table and talk."

A negotiated political settlement was the only way to reach a lasting peace, he told PA News. "I am more encouraged than I have been for some time, but there is still one heck of a lot of work to be done. There will be a lot of disappointments and reversals along the way," he said. He was convinced that all the warring factions finally wanted peace. "They are all pointing in the same direction," he said. "We have to keep up the momentum and make sure we don't go into reverse. One can't be too euphoric."

Mr Rifkind was encouraged by the sight of thousands of people milling around the streets of Sarajevo for the first time in months, safe in the knowledge that they will not come under heavy weapons fire. He said that in talks due to be held later later with the Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic, he planned to underline the UK's contribution to the peace process and humanitarian operation, which ministers feel has been denigrated by the local government.

Britain is the biggest contributor of troops with 8,500 men on the ground. More than #270 million of aid has been donated.

"It is a very worthwhile achievement of which the people of Britain can feel justly proud," Mr Rifkind said. The ceasefire agreement was, however, just the first step in returning life to normality for the people of Bosnia. The next stage was to restore the public utilities. Mr Rifkind disclosed that gas supplies could be running normally in just three days if a new agreement is successfully implemented. However, there were doubts among military sources about the extent of the Serb withdrawal of heavy weapons.

Figures sent to the UN headquarters in Zagreb detailed well over 100 heavy weapons being moved, but sources in Sarajevo said they could confirm no more than 80.

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There was concern that optimistic figures were being sent to Zagreb in the hope of boosting the peace process.

Mr Rifkind visited a British observation post high on Mojmilo hill, overlooking the city, from where Nato air strikes were directed onto the Serb Lukovica barracks, which were heavily damaged. After talks with President Izetbegovic and with Bosnian prime minister Haris Silajdzic and foreign minister Muhamed Sacirbey, Mr Rifkind was due to fly on to Zagreb.

NATO Hails 'Total Success' of Air Strikes

LD1609084395 Berlin DDP/ADN in German 0127 GMT 16 Sep 95

[Embargoed by DDP/ADN until 0900 GMT on 16 September]

[FBIS Translated Text] Hamburg (DDP/ADN)—NATO Secretary-General Willy Claes has described the NATO air strikes in Bosnia as a total success. If they had continued, the Bosnian Serbs could only have held out another week, he told the news magazine DER SPIEGEL [published 18 September]. At the same time Claes warned Croats and Muslims against using the NATO operation to gain territory for themselves.

The Bosnian conflict is at a turning point, he said. NATO will resume the attacks if the Serbs do not fulfill all their promises. This does not require a fresh mandate from the UN as the old mandate still applies: "The United Nations and NATO have not decided to throw away the key."

Claes gave an assurance that despite Moscow's recent verbal attacks, NATO is still interested in friendly relations with Russia. There must not be another Yalta which divides Europe into two spheres of influence.

UN Reports Resumption of Sarajevo Airlift

AU1609164295 Paris AFP in English 1408 GMT 16 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ancona, ItAly, Sept 16 (AFP)—A UN airlift bringing humanitarian aid to the besieged Bosnian capital Sarajevo resumed after five months Saturday [16 September] with the departure of two French planes from the Italian airport of Falconara near here, airport officials said.

The planes, both Hercules C-130, were due to be followed later Saturday by two more C-130s—one American and one British.

One plane left in the morning and the second plane took off early afternoon, although airport officials said flight plans had been modified due to "problems" in Sarajevo's airspace.

Journalists and photographers have been banned from the Falconara air base on the Adriatic coast.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) said in Geneva that a total of eight flights would leave Italian bases for Sarajevo Saturday.

The Sarajevo airlift from Falconara, begun in 1993, was suspended on April 8 but on Friday, French Defence Minister Charles Millon was aboard the first humanitarian flight to land in the city since then.

The aircraft, carrying a symbolic cargo of wheat flour, touched down after the announcement of an agreement under which the Bosnian Serb forces are due to pull back their heavy weapons from around the city.

UN Says Serb Weapons Movements 'Encouraging'

AU1709140195 Paris AFP in English 1330 GMT 17 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Sept 17 (AFP)—The United Nations headquarters here believes that the movement of Bosnian Serb weapons away from Sarajevo thus far is "encouraging," a senior UN military official said Sunday [17 September].

Seventy of the big guns—82 millimeter mortars and larger and 100 millimeter artillery and larger—have left the 20-kilometer (12-mile) exclusion zone around Sarajevo since Saturday, according to the United Nations.

A top UN official, who spoke privately, said that the Bosnian Serbs were moving out the really big weapons—tanks, multiple rocket launchers and 155 millimeter artillery pieces.

"You have to look not only at the quantity but at the quality," said the official, who spoke about 10 hours before a deadline for the Bosnian Serbs to show a "significant" arms movement away from the Bosnian capital to avert a resumption of more than two weeks of NATO airstrikes.

"I believe that the signs of withdrawal are encouraging," the official told AFP, in the first hint of UN thinking in advance of a 10:00 p.m. (2000 GMT) deadline to decide whether Bosnian Serb progress is sufficient to head off further airstrikes.

The pause, the second since the bombing raids began on August 30, started on Thursday.

General Bernard Janvier, the head of UN peacekeepers here, and the NATO commander for southern Europe, Admiral Leighton Smith, are to decide late Sunday if progress meets the threshold of "substantial" or if bombing should resume.

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The affected weapons are artillery equal to or greater than 100 millimeters and 82 millimeter mortars and larger, according to US envoy Richard Holbrooke, who is currently engaged in his latest round of shuttle diplomacy in the region.

About 200 of the so-called heavy weapons had been estimated to fall under the less restrictive definition reached in the agreement he reached with Serb leaders.

The United Nations has declined to say how many of the estimated 300 heavy weapons in the hills outside Sarajevo or in barracks in Serb-held territory are affected, but UN military spokesman Chris Vernon said in Sarajevo said the clarification on the size of the arms affected "will take the figure up."

Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic has complained that the caliber is too high, and urged that the figure of 12.7 millimeter should be used instead.

Many of the weapons that have sowed havoc among civilians in Sarajevo have been mortars, often smaller than the sizes due to be pulled back under the current agreement.

In another hint that the United Nations would not back a resumption of airstrikes, the senior UN military official in Zagreb said that Bosnian Serbs should be allowed to keep some weaponry.

The Bosnian Serbs "have committed themselves to not attacking Sarajevo," he said. "We have to take into account that they have to have enough weapons to defend their population."

UN Reports About 160 Big Guns Out of Sarajevo

AU1709191595 Paris AFP in English
1832 GMT 17 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Sept 17 (AFP)—Rebel Serbs have removed about 160 of their big guns out of the Sarajevo heavy weapons exclusion zone in compliance with a NATO order to avert further airstrikes, a UN military official said here Sunday [17 September].

"We seem to be moving toward a decision to extend the pause" in bomb runs, the source said.

Bosnian Serbs had been required to remove a "substantial" number of their biggest guns away from Sarajevo to end more than two weeks of airstrikes. Their deadline for doing so was 10:00 p.m. (2000 GMT).

With less than two hours to go before the deadline, a UN civilian official said that airstrikes could be averted.

"Things are looking a bit better today than they were yesterday," he said.

Asked about contact with the Serbs, who have moved some 70 weapons beyond the 20-kilometer (12.5-mile) mark in the past day, the official said only, "The Serbs are saying the right things."

Earlier a second senior UN military official had said that contact with the rebel group had become more difficult because more than two weeks of airstrikes had taken out a fascimile line that UN headquarters in Sarajevo was using to communicate with the Bosnian Serb leadership in Pale, outside Sarajevo.

UN, NATO Extending Reprieve of Air Strikes

AU1709202795 Paris AFP in English
2014 GMT 17 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Zagreb, Sept 17 (AFP)—The United Nations and NATO have decided to extend a pause in NATO airstrikes on Bosnian Serb military installations, UN commander General Bernard Janvier and NATO southern zone commander Admiral Leighton Smith announced here late Sunday [17 September]. [passage omitted]

They now have until the same time on Wednesday to remove the remainder of the estimated 300 heavy weapons that fall under an undertaking offered by Serb leaders to US envoy Richard Holbrooke in Belgrade last Wednesday.

Failure to comply was to be punished by a resumption of the two weeks of bombardment by North Atlantic Treaty Organisation warplanes that have severely disrupted Serb communications facilities and other military installations around Bosnia.

UN: Serbs Continuing Weapons Pullout 18 Sep

AU1809113695 Paris AFP in English
1038 GMT 18 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Sept 18 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs were still withdrawing their heavy weapons from the Sarajevo area Monday [18 September] in line with a NATO and UN deadline, a UN official said Monday.

"This morning the Bosnian Serbs were also continuing to regroup their heavy weapons ahead of evacuation," said the official who asked not to be named.

The United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization have counted some 160 Bosnian Serb heavy weapons being pulled out over the past two days out of the 200 the Serbs have pledged to withdraw from a 20-kilometer (12-mile) zone around the Bosnian capital.

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The United Nations and NATO decided Sunday to extend a pause in NATO airstrikes on Bosnian Serb military installations to allow the rebels to complete their heavy weapons withdrawal from Sarajevo.

"The Serbs have shown initial compliance with the conditions," UN overall commander General Bernard Janvier and NATO southern zone commander Admiral Leighton Smith said in a joint statement.

Three weapons convoys had been observed leaving the exclusion zone taking different routes, one towards the north, one south and one east, the official said.

The weapons were mainly tanks, howitzers, multiple-barrel-rocket launchers and artillery which had been used by the Serbs to beseige the city for over 40 months.

The Serbs had been required to remove a "substantial" number of their biggest guns away from Sarajevo to end more than two weeks of airstrikes. Their deadline for doing so was 10:00 p.m. (2000 GMT) Sunday.

UN Urges Government 'To Rein In' Forces

AU1809113895 Paris AFP in English 1057 GMT 18 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Sept 18 (AFP)—The United Nations urged on Monday [18 September] the Bosnian Government to rein in its forces who are sweeping rapidly through northern Bosnia and advancing on Banja Luka, a Serb stronghold crammed with refugees.

"The UN urges the warring parties to show restraint, especially in the light of the looming humanitarian catastrophe around the town of Banja Luka," UN spokesman Chris Gunness said.

Government troops broke out of the Bihac area in northwest Bosnia last week and have since made rapid progress eastwards, seizing a series of towns.

"The advance by the Bosnian Army 5th Corps has swept a huge number of civilians before it. Many have reached Banja Luka, the largest Serb-held town in the area," Gunness said.

"The (fighting) remains of deep concern to the United Nations. We are also disturbed by the exodus of large numbers of civilians from the affected area," he added. [passage omitted]

UN aid officials said between 70,000 to 80,000 displaced people have arrived in Banja Luka, a town with a pre-war non-Serb majority.

Jessica Barry of the International Comittee of the Red Cross described the situation in the town as "surrealistic."

Bosnian Serb General Mladic in Hospital

LD1709075495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0736 GMT 17 Sep 95

[By Ivan Ivaniv, Nikolay Kalintsev]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] PALE, September 17 (Itar-Tass)—Bosnian Serb top military commander General Ratko Mladic has been hospitalised in the Belgrade Military Medical Academy a few days ago for treatment of urolithiasis, or kidney stone disease.

He is to undergo a stone-fracturing operation within days, Bosnian Serb Parliament Chairman Momcilo Krajisnik said during his meeting with a Russian State Duma delegation led by Sergey Glotov.

Krajisnik said Mladic was expected to return from the hospital within five-six days.

This confirms reports that Mladic had not directed Serb defense in western Bosnia, where Moslem and Croat troops succeeded in seizing some 2,000 square kilometers of the Serb territory and five towns, and advanced from the south as close as 40-50 km to Banja Lika, a Bosnian Serb stronghold.

Russia Establishes Formal Ties to Bosnian Serbs

AU1709134695 Paris AFP in English 0019 GMT 17 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept 17 (AFP)—The Russian parliament has established a permanent mission in Bosnian Serb "capital" Pale and will send delegations regularly to see the Serbs get a fair deal, a Russian legislator was quoted Saturday [16 September] as saying.

Sergei Zlotov, chairman of the Duma commitee for federal affairs and regional policy, told the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA that Russian legislators would visit Pale "to make sure the peace process goes on and is concluded equitably."

According to SRNA, Zlotov said he had led an eight-man delegation to Pale "to prevent air strikes and obtain evidence about the consequences of NATO bombing raids" against Serb targets.

After meeting the Russians, the speaker of the Bosnian Serb "parliament" Momcilo Krajisnik said the withdrawal of Serb big guns from round Sarajevo "will be on a scale which will not imperil the defence forces of the Serbs."

The Russian parliamentarians will leave on Tuesday for Sofia in Bulgaria to discuss "opening an land corridor to bring humanitarian aid to the Serbs" of Bosnia, Zlotov was quoted as saying.

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Russian Duma Delegation on Fact-Finding Mission

LD1509202895 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 15 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A delegation of the Russian Federation parliament arrived in the Serb Republic this evening on a several-day visit to gain an on-the-spot insight into the suffering of the Serb people. The delegation was received in Pale by Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha. Here is a telephone report from our correspondent:

[Unidentified correspondent] The delegation of the State Duma of the federal Russian parliament, led by Sergey Glotov, the chairman of the deputies' group for liaison with former Yugoslav republics, has arrived in Pale on an official, friendly visit to the Serb Republic. Nine members of the lower house of the Russian parliament were received today by Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha.

We have learned that the Russian delegation has come with the intention of gaining a first-hand insight into the state of affairs in the wake of the NATO aggression against the Serb Republic. At the same time, the Russian Duma delegation intends to launch an initiative for unilateral suspension of sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and use all mechanisms to prevent further bombardment of the Serbs.

While we are reporting this, the two state delegations are meeting. We will inform you about the details in our next news bulletin. The Russian guests will also be received by Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Serb Republic People's Assembly, tomorrow. They are to pay a visit to the Russian UN Protection Force battalion which is deployed in Serb Sarajevo. Prior to visiting the Serb Republic the delegation visited Yugoslavia.

Possible 'Permanent Presence'

LD1609125195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1057 GMT 16 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 16 Sep (SRNA)—Aleksa Buha, foreign minister of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, and Sergey Glotov, head of the Russian parliamentary delegation visiting Pale, indicated last night the possibility of setting up a permanent presence of Russian parliamentarians in the Serb Republic.

"The establishment of a Russian parliamentary presence in the Serb Republic could guarantee not only the continuation but also the planned conclusion of the peace process," said Buha after the meeting with the Russian delegation.

He said that there had been "qualitative changes in the behavior of Russia toward the crisis in former Yugoslavia."

"These changes," Buha said, "relate above all to the behavior of the Russian representative in the UN Security Council, the statements of President Boris Yeltsin and in particular the decisions of the Russian Duma."

"If Russia had taken this stand at the beginning of the Yugoslav crisis the situation would have been different," the Serb Republic foreign minister said.

The leader of the Russian delegation, Sergey Glotov, said that "the aim of the visit of the Russian parliamentarians to the Serb Republic was to fulfill the decisions of the State Duma taken on 9 September."

"These cover the prevention of the bombing, gathering of documentation on the consequences of NATO intransigence, and the preparation of a serious report for President Yeltsin," he said.

Recalling that the Duma has strongly condemned the bombing of the Serb Republic, Glotov said that "the setting up of a permanent parliamentary presence in the Serb Republic should give NATO pause for thought."

"We will be sending our reports from here to the state organs and President Yeltsin in order to assist the diplomatic efforts and offer assistance to the leadership of the Serb Republic," Glotov added, expressing the hope that peace would soon prevail on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

He noted that the Duma was dissatisfied with the Balkans policy of Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and that it was seeking his dismissal, and that it had passed a law on sending humanitarian aid to the FRY, which Yeltsin had signed.

"In addition to sending aid by air, the Duma is advocating opening up a land corridor that it will attempt to realize with the cooperation of the Bulgarian parliament," Glotov concluded.

NATO 'Party to the Conflict'

LD1609200195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1757 GMT 16 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 16 Sep (SRNA)—Momcilo Krajisnik, chairman of the People's Assembly of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, met in Pale today with a delegation of the Russian Duma, with whom he discussed the consequences of NATO's aggression against the Serb Republic, and the situation in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Krajisnik thanked the Duma deputies for deciding to gain a personal insight into the serious crimes committed by NATO, and asked them to advocate on

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their return home a more active Russian role in resolving the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis, and in world politics in general.

Sergey Glotov, the leader of the multiparty Russian Parliament delegation and chairman of the Committee for Federal Affairs and Regional Policy, reiterated that the objective of the visit to the Serb Republic is to prevent further air strikes and to gather documentation on the consequences of the NATO raids.

"Inspecting the targets of the raids—civilian facilities and telecommunications systems—we conclude that NATO has become a party to the conflict," Glotov said.

Assurances were made during the meeting that, on their return to Russia, the delegation members will do everything possioble to ensure comprehensive aid to the Serb people.

Before its return to Moscow, the delegation will visit Sofia on 19 September, where they will meet Bulgarian Parliament members, with whom they will try to arrange the opening of a land corridor for humanitarian aid deliveries to the Serb people. [passage omitted]

Karadzic Urges 'All Serbs' To Fight Croatians

AU1509171395 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 0500 GMT 15 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Supreme Command of the Serb Republic Army General Staff and the Serb Republic Government held a session in Banja Luka last night to view the current military and political situation. The session made several measures and decisions that will become binding documents and regulate the behavior [ponasanje] of all state institutions and the army. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic and supreme commander of the Serb Republic Army, stated the following after the session:

[Begin Karadzic recording] We are actually in recess, as the Supreme Command of the General Staff and the government will be in constant session, as it were, and the session will only be adjourned when they go to carry out their tasks. A series of measures and decisions have been made and, tonight, we will put the finishing touches to them and they will become binding documents regulating the behavior of all state institutions and the army. We will work on consolidating the situation caused by the massive Croatian aggression against the territory of the Serb Republic. I must tell you that—regardless of the three and a half years of double sanctions and 13 months of sanctions imposed by Yugoslavia—the Serb Republic, the people, the government, and the army managed to maintain the strategic balance toward the so-called internal enemy, the Muslims and the Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, now we are being attacked by Croatia. Croatia is a big country with an open market, with open wartime loans, with great military machinery.... The world should stop, punish Croatia, and Yugoslavia must help us in every domain, for this is no longer a civil war. We had civil war when we were fighting against the Muslims and the Croats, but that is no longer a civil war, for both the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and the Serb Republic won international recognition. What Croatia is doing now is a striking example of aggression, and we must put more effort into stopping the aggression and liberating certain parts of our municipalities and municipalities that were seized and that would never have been seized if Croatia's respectable force had not gotten involved. There is a big disproportion of forces now, and we can therefore not hold those losses against our army.

All Serbs must, in a way, side with us and help us free ourselves from the Croatian aggressor and regain Serb municipalities that used to be populated by almost 100-percent Serb populations. Nobody else but the Serbs lived there for centuries. These are no longer even considered controversial areas on maps, but are quite indisputably Serb areas. Moreover, all Serbs must now help us for, we are being attacked by a neighboring force. Croatia has 5 million people; we have a million and a half. It is too big for us to be able to stop the aggression on our own, but we will nevertheless manage to stop it and to redeploy our units from other parts of our republic. However, we must get help from outside.

If the Muslim government should agree to the cessation of hostilities today, we would sign a cease-fire agreement within four days with the goal, as the document says, of expanding the agreement to the entire republic. I think the international community is trying to speed up the peace process. In other words, many circles estimate that we only have another two to four weeks of war left, although our army and our people must not think about that. That would be dangerous, since the enemy can reject the plan and continue the aggression.

Karadzic, Banja Luka Leaders Discuss Defense

LD1609115895 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1057 GMT 16 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 16 Sep (SRNA)—Stabilization of the defense lines and care of the large number of refugees are the most important tasks agreed upon at the meeting in Banja Luka of the leadership of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic with the top officials of the Banja Luka region.

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At yesterday's meeting of Radovan Karadzic and Biljana Plavsic, president and vice president of the Serb Republic, with the presidents of the war presidencies of the Banja Luka region and deputies and members of the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party], it was stressed that it is essential to apply the legal provisions of the decision on the state of war.

It was also concluded that the greatest pressure from refugees from the occupied areas of the Serb Republic was on Sanski Most, Prijedor, Laktasi, Srbac, and Bosanska Gradiska.

Most of those taking part in the discussion reported experiences from their own areas, stressing the need to nip in the bud all incidents of Fifth Column activity and the dissemination of disinformation, which have hitherto been disastrous at crucial moments for the defense of certain places.

The Serb nation must preserve its ancient lands at all costs and realistic preconditions for this exist, it was concluded at the meeting of the leadership of the Serb Republic with the representatives of the Banja Luka region, at which Milovan Milovanovic, vice president of the Serb Republic Parliament, and Bishop Jefrem of Banja Luka were also present.

Karadzic Satisfied With Weapons Withdrawal Accord

LD1709104795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1029 GMT 17 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept. 17 (TANJUG)—The president of the Bosnian Serb state Republika Srpska, Radovan Karadzic, said Saturday he is satisfied with the agreement for the withdrawal of Serb heavy weapons from around Sarajevo.

Karadzic said he believes that the war in Sarajevo is nearing an end.

'We have made a good agreement owing to help by (Serbian) President (Slobodan) Milosevic who proposed this to the United States and the international community,' REUTERS quoted Karadzic as saying in Pale, Bosnian Serb administrative centre.

Karadzic said that the proposed ceasefire agreement for Sarajevo would ensure the safety from Muslim attacks of the Serb parts of the city.

'This means that the war in Sarajevo is close to an end,' he said.

Karadzic To Return Big Guns If Serb Sarajevo Hit

LD1709122595 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1120 GMT 17 Sep 95

[By special ITAR-TASS correspondents Nikolay Kalintsev and Ivan Ivanov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka (Serb Republic), 17 Sep—President of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic Radovan Karadzic stated today in an exclusive interview with ITAR-TASS correspondents that in the event of new attacks by the Muslim troops on the Serb district of Sarajevo, "we will quickly bring back our heavy weapons," which are now being withdrawn outside the 20-km zone around Sarajevo.

He noted with regret that "the world community, as we can see on the basis of our own sad experience, is unable to give us a guarantee" that Muslim troops will not engage in aggression against Serbs in Sarajevo when the heavy weapons have been withdrawn from there. "The world community is biased against the Serbs; it is siding with the Croats and the Muslims," he remarked.

However, R. Karadzic continued, "we nevertheless have a slight hope that the Muslims will keep the promise they have given the American mediators" and will not commit aggression against Serb Sarajevo.

The Serb leader emphasized that "despite NATO's threats we are preparing for defensive actions" in the Serb part of the Bosnian capital. "We still have enough small-caliber weapons that can be used in the defense of Serb Sarajevo. In the event of an attack we shall quickly bring our heavy weapons back," he stated.

Asked about the fresh offensive by Muslim and Croat forces in western Bosnia in the area of Banja Luka, R. Karadzic noted that the prerequisite for this had been NATO's air strikes on Serb military and civilian installations in the region. "As a result of this offensive we have suffered great losses and lost several towns and territories that had belonged to Serbs for centuries. We are now attempting to form a new line of defense. We are in the main succeeding in this," the Serb leader stated.

In his opinion what is at present occurring in the region is essentially a continuation of the Second World War, during which the Muslims and the Croats were wiping out Serbs. "Our population cannot therefore remain in territories occupied by the Muslims and Croats, who have a centuries-old hatred for Serbs. Women, children, and the elderly are leaving, and for a time the soldiers are also leaving to escort them to a place of safety," R. Karadzic said, adding that the Bosnian Serb troops

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are not a regular army but just a people's home guard defending their homes.

Serbs Will Not Allow Refugees To Cross Drina

LD1509220995 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1720 GMT 15 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 15 Sep (SRNA)—The state headquarters for the reception and accommodation of refugees from the Serb Republic [RS] and the Republic of Serb Krajina [in Croatia] yesterday determined the directions of movement of those expelled from the western parts of the RS and issued orders on the full use of all accommodation facilities in [Bosnian] Krajina municipalities.

According to headquarters representative Gojko Klickovic, the expelled are to move in the directions of Prijedor, Sanski Most, Manjaca, Kozarska Dubica, and Novi Grad [Bosanski Novi], where the headquarters will give them adequate accommodation.

"The columns will be provided with everything necessary only up to Prijedor, because the orders are explicit," Klickovic said.

He reiterated that Serbia's position is also clear—"There will be no crossing of the Drina River [border between Bosnian Serb territory and Yugoslavia], because those territories will remain Serb according to all combinations." [passage omitted]

Krajisnik Accuses U.S. of Reneging on Promises

LD1709203295 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 17 Sep 95

[Passages contained within quotation marks are recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Correspondent Snezan Lalovic] When it comes to the current juncture in the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, military issues take precedence over the political ones. This was said at a news conference in Pale held by Momcilo Krajisnik, the president of the People's Assembly of the Serb Republic, and General Dragomir Milosevic, the commander of the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps.

In his introductory remarks the parliamentary chairman spoke about an agreement on ending air raids and about the withdrawal of heavy weapons out of the 20-kilometer zone in Sarajevo. He said that the Serb side was given guarantees by both the NATO and UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] that Muslim weapons in Sarajevo will be put under their control and that any potential Muslim offensive in the area will be prevented.

[Krajisnik] "The Serbs are not in the business of fulfilling conditions set as an ultimatum. Our attitude to an ultimatum was known the moment NATO set it. As far as we are concerned, the ultimatum means capitulation and no one in the Serb Republic has the right to accept it.

"What we are observing are provisions of the agreement reached in Belgrade and refer to the end of the bombing."

[Lalovic] The president of the People's Assembly of the Serb Republic also spoke about the consequences of NATO air raids. He said that the air strikes had resulted in the worst case of ethnic cleansing, i.e. 200,000 Serbs had to leave their homes after the Croats and Muslims launched their large-scale offensive against the western borders of the Serb Republic by taking advantage of the actions and effects of NATO aircraft.

[Krajisnik] "The scenario of the bombardment was the following: To surrender the Serb Sarajevo to the Muslims under the pretext of opening Sarajevo; to cut communications between different parts of the Serb Republic; and to confuse our defenses in the western parts of the Serb Republic. They have succeeded as far as the second point is concerned. We have great difficulties in defending the western parts of the Serb Republic where nothing is being done to stop the offensive by the Muslims and Croats and the regular forces of Croatia."

[Lalovic] On this occasion the parliamentary chairman again said that, at the meeting in Belgrade, U.S. generals had given guarantees that the Muslim-Croat offensive will be thwarted, but that they obviously failed to keep their promises.

Speaking about the meeting in Belgrade, he said:

[Krajisnik] "We are not satisfied with the Geneva Accord. We have many objections to it. But we see the acceptance of the union as a Serb concession in order to achieve recognition of the Serb Republic and satisfactory territorial divisions. I wish to inform you about the view of the state leadership and about the desire and views of the Serb people. The Serbs will never want to live with the Muslims and Croats in any kind of links."

[Lalovic] Momcilo Krajisnik also said that Sarajevo, as one of the main issues, should be resolved in line with the formula of its transformation into two cities since, without a Serb Sarajevo, there will be no further deals.

Speaking at the same news conference, Gen. Milosevic confirmed that the Army of the Serb Republic will withdraw all weapons listed as heavy but which, in fact,

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were medium range, such as mortar launchers over 82 mm and artillery weapons of the caliber above 100 mm. This will be in compliance with the Belgrade agreement monitored by UNPROFOR troops.

[Milosevic] "When the 144th hour is over everything will be fulfilled and we expect that, in the meantime, that is by the end of the sixth day, a cessation of hostilities will be signed."

[Lalovic] Gen. Milosevic also said that the Serb army soldiers were not frightened of a possible Muslim offensive, but he hoped that the peace process will be resumed. He said that UNPROFOR was aware of the direction in which the Serb weapons were being withdrawn, but everything else was up to the Serb army. He said that the chances of NATO threatening the withdrawn weapons was slim and that it will not take long to make them operational again if the Serb defense lines came under threat.

About 100,000 Serb Refugees Reach Banja Luka

LD1709160995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1551 GMT 17 Sep 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Banja Luka, Sept. 17 (TANJUG)—About 100,000 Serbs who fled the western Bosnian Serb Republic after the latest Croat-Muslim offensive against the region have arrived in the area of Banja Luka, the Bosnian Serb Bureau in Belgrade said in a statement on Sunday.

Although humanitarian organizations and Bosnian Serb authorities are making huge efforts to accommodate the inflowing refugees, the humanitarian situation in the area of Banja Luka is very difficult.

Head of the Refugee Crisis Centre Gojko Klickovic on Sunday toured all 45 refugee centres in Banja Luka, Sanski Most, Prijedor, Novi Grad, Kozarska Dubica, Gradiska, Laktasi, Srbac and Kostajnica to determine the most important measures to speed up the process of accommodating refugees and giving them initial humanitarian aid.

There is a shortage of food, personal hygiene products, medicines, plastic sheets, blankets and cots, but the shortage of fuel is the most acute problem, because it is needed to move numerous vehicles that are blocking the roads.

Ten truckloads of food, sent by the office of the Serbian Commissioner for Refugees, are to arrive in Banja Luka on Sunday.

Telephone lines in the Bosnian Serb Republic are still down because in its recent attacks, NATO air force has destroyed telecommunication facilities in several places.

Information reach people with difficulties and Croat propaganda radio systems, which broadcast misinformation, make the situation even more difficult.

The statement said that the information about the fall of some Bosnian Serb towns were not true and that the Bosnian Serb army was successfully establishing its lines of defence in the west and on Mt. Ozren in the northeast of the Bosnian Serb Republic.

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Tudjman Speech on Croatian Statehood Anniversary

LD1709151595 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 17 Sep 95

[Speech by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of Croatia's statehood at the Presidential Palace in Zagreb on 17 September—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] A formal ceremony was held at the Presidential Palace in Zagreb today, at which the President of the Republic Dr. Franjo Tudjman decorated senior parliament and government officials and prominent citizens of the Republic of Croatia, on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of Croatia's statehood. Milena Jukic-Ugrin reports.

[Ugrin] Those decorated today include Parliament Speaker Nedeljko Mihanovic; Prime Minister Nikica Valentic; head of the president's office Hrvoje Sarinic; Foreign Minister Mate Granic; Deputy Prime Ministers Jure Radic, Ivica Kostovic, and Borislav Skegro; Defense Minister Gojko Susak, and Interior Minister Ivan Jarnjak.

The decorated were addressed by President Tudjman.

[Tudjman] Ladies and gentlemen, with these decorations I conferred on you today at the proposal of the special commission and people from certain regions, we are winding up celebrations of the fifth anniversary of the setting up of the independent, sovereign and democratic Republic of Croatia.

As you can see, the fifth anniversary came so quickly that even the technical departments could not keep up with us, so we could hand out only some of the decorations on the anniversary day itself.

Indeed, the fifth anniversary of the establishment of the independent and democratic Croatia came so quickly, considering all we have managed to accomplish. We have achieved the 1,000-year-old dream of the Croatian people only because we managed to bring about the reconciliation of a disunited Croatdom [Hrvatstvo].

This reconciliation was manifested today—excuse me, I have a slight cold—this reconciliation manifested itself in these people here today, these participants from all generations of the Croatian people; those who are alive today, who took part in the struggle against monarchist Yugoslavia a long time ago, who took part in the Second World War on both sides of a disunited Croatdom, and those who languished in the dungeons of both monarchist and socialist Yugoslavia; those from the Croatian diaspora and from the motherland.

These decorations were also bestowed on those who came here earlier, who joined the struggle for the defense of Croatia, and on those who are still abroad but who are also working for the benefit of the Croatian homeland.

This was the guarantee of our victory, of our freedom, of the dream for which Croats suffered and died in the course of our long and arduous history.

We knew how to learn the lessons of our history; we knew that Croatia's independence, freedom, and state are the only guarantees for the survival and future of the Croatian nation, and that we can only accomplish this by uniting all generations and classes in Croatia and abroad.

We can note with pride that in this transitional period in history—the collapse of communism and multinational states in Europe—Croatia was one of the few countries to effect such a reconciliation, effect such a national renaissance.

This national renaissance, this struggle for Croatia's independence was joined by the descendants of Croatia's aristocracy and members of all other social strata—from common laborers, fishermen, peasants, and workers to the most prominent intellectuals.

This struggle united former adversaries from the Second World War, who believed they were fighting for some lofty ideals or who were fighting for Croatia under different flags, and especially their children and grandchildren. That is why we now have what we have.

From the very first day of our independence to everything that happened in all our Lightnings and Storms [military operations in Krajina], after all that we have accomplished with this wise and resolute, difficult and glorious epic, with this political and military struggle for Croatia; for a Croatian state that was recognized even by those who did not want to mention, much less recognize it. This Croatia of ours is today not only an internationally recognized, but also a respected international factor.

Shortly before I joined you I held talks with a delegation of a superpower that is working toward world peace [U.S.], whose peace endeavor was possible only after Croatia had realized its internal stability, its stable democratic system...[pauses] that can no longer be brought into question by any speculation—internal or international—and after it had shown that, simultaneously with conducting reasonable policy, diplomacy, and negotiations, it created armed forces that proved to be superior to everything they were frightening us with, everything aimed at preventing the creation of our Croatia.

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Ladies and gentlemen, we have been charged with this historic task, and I believe that we have fulfilled it—even above the expectations of the most ardent optimists among us; and we will complete this task by liberating the remaining part of Croatia still under occupation—western Srijem, eastern Slavonia, and Baranja, with the symbol of Croatia's resistance, Vukovar. We will either accomplish this over the next few months by peaceful means or by the force of arms.

Croatia has secured its future for the centuries to come. It has secured the future of the Croatian people and its place in the international community of united nations.

I congratulate you once again on the well-deserved decorations I conferred upon you in the name of our free homeland, the sovereign and independent Croatia. I wish you success in your work in all areas—from the state administration to science, art, and sports—all of which are of equal importance for the future of Croatia.

I wish you success in your work for the honor and pride of our one and only and eternal Croatia.

President Tudjman Receives U.S. Envoy Holbrooke

LD1709105595 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 17 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman received Richard Holbrooke, U.S. Assistant State Secretary, in the presidential palace this morning.

After the talks, Holbrooke told journalists that he briefed Tudjman on his talks with Milosevic last night and that, because of the exceptionally serious situation in Sarajevo, the next few hours or days could be decisive.

Assistant Secretary of State Holbrooke also said he discussed eastern Slavonia with Tudjman and that they both agreed, once again, that the problem should be resolved by peaceful means, in accordance with UN Security Council resolutions on eastern Slavonia.

Holbrooke expressed the hope that the efforts of the United States and President Clinton will help bring peace in eastern Slavonia.

Tudjman: Force May Be Needed To Recover Areas

LD1709121295 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 17 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman received Richard Holbrooke, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, accompanied by Peter Galbraith, the U.S. ambassador to Croatia. Presidential Chief of Staff Hrvoje Sarinic was also present during the talks. [passage omitted]

The president of the republic reiterated that Croatia insists that the occupied areas of Croatia be peacefully reintegrated into Croatia's constitutional and legal system. If this proves impossible, Croatia will be forced to put an end to the untenable situation in these areas.

General Pledges Total Liberation of Croatia

LD1709130995 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 17 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A ceremony was held in the naval port of Split today to mark the fourth anniversary of Croatia's Navy Day. Among the numerous military and civil officials, families of fallen Croatian defenders, and patriotic war invalids was Corps General Zvonimir Cervenko, chief of the General Staff. Sandra Stanic reports from Split.

[Stanic] [Passage omitted]

[Begin Cervenko recording] The war has ended or almost ended. We have liberated a large part of our country. A little bit still remains to be liberated. Whether we do this by peaceful means or by war, either way we will do it, and it is absolutely certain that Croatia will reach its natural borders, established by all international laws and agreements. [end recording]

[Stanic] [passage omitted: Navy Commander Admiral Letica praises the Navy]

Saudi Ship Arrives With Aid for Bosnian Muslims

LD1709200095 Riyadh SPA in English 1920 GMT 17 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Riyadh, Sept 17, SPA—A ship carrying 6,500 tons of food supplies arrived at a Croatian port. It is the fourth cargo ship carrying urgent Saudi aid for Bosnian Muslims, within the context of a project by the high fund-raising commission for Bosnian Muslims, to arrive in Croatia. The third ship is being unloaded at the moment.

Moreover, seven large trucks carrying 60 tons of meat, 40 tons of beans and 30 tons of soap left Zagreb for Bosnian territories last week. They will distribute their shipments among the needy, widows and orphans in Sarajevo, Zenica and Mostar.

The commission also sent SR [Saudi riyals] 68,940 last week to a number of Bosnian families in the form of monthly aid to go with the constant food supplies.

45 teachers sponsored by the commission, who work at a primary and a secondary schools, have also received their pay. It is noteworthy that the commission supervises several schools in Europe where the sons and daughters of Bosnian refugees receive their education.

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Commentary Sees Geneva Accord as 'Unfeasible'

AU1809094795 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 13 Sep 95 p 5

[Commentary by Maja Freundlich: "Entities of the World Unite...."]

[FBIS Translated Text] After many hours spent aboard aircraft, after a romantic night meeting with Milosevic that lasted into the small hours, after consultations with everybody, after his rather self-assured statements on how he would try to find a compromise that would satisfy everybody, Richard Holbrooke landed in Geneva. What he offered there was really an attempt at a compromise satisfactory to everybody, but, despite the enthusiastic efforts, it has become just more proof that there can be no compromise between a Nazi aggressor and a victim of genocide, that a Nazi and his victim cannot find satisfaction in the same solution. So, which should be helped? The victim, with Moscow rising up against justice for it with all its barbaric threats? Or should Nazi Serbia be helped? Is it possible to reach a compromise between two principles so opposed, as with, on the one hand, Croatia's request for freedom for the whole of its territory and full sovereignty for the Croatian state, and, on the other hand, the Serbian aspiration to occupy other people's lands and keep at least the eastern part of Croatia? Is it possible to reach a compromise between the Muslims, who want to free their historical land in Bosnia and have the power in proportion with their majority population, and the Serbs, who want to conquer not only 70 percent, but 100 percent of Bosnian land?

What Has Geneva Offered?

What, in fact, has Geneva offered? Trying to satisfy or appease the Croats, Holbrooke first asked the Serbs to recognize the international borders of the Croatian state. That is supposed to have been promised him by Milosevic in the wee hours, probably in a quiet and agreeable voice, as one speaks at that time of night with a voice of a good man. Yet, this part of the all-encompassing compromise is so far from the basic requirements of the Serbs, so far from the motives that made them start their Nazi campaign, that only Holbrooke's gullibility, naivete, or lack of experience could trust the honesty of Milosevic's words.

In the cold light of day in Geneva, Milan Milutinovic, of course, rejected any possibility of anything of that kind. Milosevic had once again tried to discredit the mediators, this time the Americans. He seems to have made them promise some sort of transitional period, in which rule in eastern Croatia would "gradually pass" from the Serb bandits to Croatian state institutions, and the withdrawal of the Serb occupying troops would also be gradual and under the surveillance of these "temporary authorities." In that sense, Galbraith, Stoltenberg, and Akashi travelled to Beli Manastir, talked with Slavko Domanovic and Goran Hadzic there, and seem to have promised all sorts of things. Having discredited himself before the Croats in such a way, Holbrooke and the rest of the mediators received a very firm slap in the face from Milosevic, already in Geneva. Through Milutinovic, Milosevic required more and asked the Americans to prohibit the use of military means by the Croats to liberate the eastern part of the country. Holbrooke's naive hope in the reconciliation of the Croatian and the Serbian principle in Croatia has now proven unfeasible.

Legal Pirouette

After that part of the negotiations had failed, fearing a complete flop, Holbrooke started working on a solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina. The agreement that he came up with is not only unacceptable for the Croats and Muslims, but such an idea of a state is legally, logically, and in practice unfeasible.

First of all, Bosnia-Herzegovina would be a unified country with all the attributes of the complete sovereignty of an internationally recognized state, but it would consist of two parts. But it seems that these two "entities" would retain a high level of their own sovereignty and independence. Because, entities can, if they choose, enter into separate parallel relationships with neighboring countries and coordinate them with the sovereignty of Bosnia-Herzegovina?! It is not only that it is impossible to imagine the internal political relationships in such an impossible country, but the international relationships of such a country would also become wholly suspicious. What this implies is the establishment of a tripartite unity of Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Serbia. Through the mechanism of the internal indivisibility of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia would enter an indirect marriage. If we translate this legal pirouette into the language of everyday life, it would resemble a marriage in which the partners would have the right to enter marriages with third persons.

What would the two entities have in common in that state? The army? For example, a brigade consisting of Serb fighters for Greater Serbia, soldiers of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, and troops of the Croatian Defense Council? What would such an army be called? Or will completely separate brigades be formed, each of them to be stationed in its own barracks?

What would have to be the security distance between those barracks? Would a state established in this way have to be protected by NATO air power and would the

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Americans occasionally undertake punitive expeditions? Or might the regard for the unity etc. of Bosnia-Herzegovina fall into the category of international politics? So that in the future Kresimir Zubak, Alija Izetbegovic, and Radovan Karadzic would sit at the United Nations together, at the same time, coordinating the moves of their state? Or perhaps, according to the American recipe, the radical Karadzic would be replaced by Milosevic's "moderate" Mladic?

Far Away From a Shareholders' Company

The Geneva agreement has once again offered the famous 51:49 division. And once again we have to ask why? It was conceived by someone in the West, convinced that democracy is the dominant principle throughout the world, convinced that the decisive thing for the Muslims and Croats, according to the shareholding principle, is to get 51 percent of the territory, thus automatically acquiring control of the state. Is it possible that there are still people who believe that the Serbs respect the democratic principles of the majority? A state in which there are Serbs is far away from a shareholding company. Even if we reconcile ourselves to such a stupid paper, it would be amusing to watch the implementation of the Serbs' withdrawal from 21 percent of the occupied territory, as planned by the Americans. And when Mladic says "No!" who is going to force him? The Americans? Or NATO, which intentionally and carefully avoids hitting the Serb artillery around Sarajevo?

But apart from all this, we once again ask why the Serbs should get 49 percent of Bosnian territory? Because they have occupied more, so can strike a deal? Collective memory loss has spread in the West and nobody still asks how come it is 49 percent. In Bosnia the Serbs have never been 49 percent of the population nor will they ever be. So, why 49 percent?

The Precedent That Legalized Genocide

Milosevic and Karadzic are right to celebrate. Not only has their nonexistent thing been internationally recognized as an entity, but it has also been named in an international document, as one of the two bearers of sovereignty. The agreement thus becomes a legal fact, which the Serbs can invoke in all of the steps that they take in the future and in all of their future demands. The sovereignty of the "Serb Republic" is internationally sponsored. In the joint statement of the negotiators, the Serb entity was even given the adjective "democratic." That is why we have to pose this moral question: How is it possible to recognize indirectly a creation built from the blood, skin, and nails of the victims of genocide? Milosevic created Karadzic and his make-believe state as a transparent veil over a genocidal campaign of conquest against a neighboring country. Why has he succeeded in this and why has he been allowed to?

Apart from everything else, the Geneva agreement offers the Serbs access to the sea. The joint state, made up of the Washington federation and the genocidal entity, also includes Neum [Bosnian town on the Adriatic]. Neum, a part of Herzeg-Bosnia, would, according to the intermediate sovereignty, be subject to Karadzic's state. Therefore it is easy to understand Karadzic's fantasies on television about exchanging Neum for Cavtat, Cilipi, and Prevlaka [Croatian towns on the Adriatic].

The Geneva agreement is something impossible, abortive, lost, stupid, wicked, and unfeasible. Speaking to reporters in Geneva in the moral voice of a good student, Holbrooke several times repeated the words "the continuity and international recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovina." Despite these reiterations, a Geneva-made Bosnia-Herzegovina would be an inexhaustible source of new wars, and not just on its own soil. A country created by genocide, where injustice would be internationally recognized and where genocide would be internationally approved of would set a dangerous precedent in Europe and the entire world. Besides, the Geneva meeting is a final attempt to restore Yugoslavia through the entities game and their "parallel relationships with neighboring countries." This one will fail ignobly, just like those before it. The ever-increasing and logical military liveliness of U.S. weapons on Bosnian soil will prove a more worthy political goal than Clinton's current preelection "initiative" and its stillborn Geneva product.

Serb Krajina's Milanovic on Srem-Baranja Region

LD1709190195 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1738 GMT 17 Sep 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Erdut, Sept 17 (TANJUG)—Serb Krajina Assistant Defence Minister Milan Milanovic said on Sunday that the Serb delegation to talks with Croatia would not agree to solutions that provide for the Srem-Baranja region to be part of Croatia.

"We remain firm on the proposal that the region become a 'blue zone' administered by the United Nations, that would belong neither to Croatia nor to Serbia, and then decide in a referendum in three to five years where it would like eventually to belong," Milanovic said.

Milanovic, a member of the Srem-Baranja Regional Council, heads the Serb Krajina delegation to talks with

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Croatia on the future of this region in the east of the Republic of Serb Krajina.

He told a press conference in the regional town of Erdut that Russian Ambassador in Zagreb Leon Kerestedzhiants and special U.N. Envoy to Former Yugoslavia Ashushi Akashi were due to visit Erdut next week as part of the negotiating process.

After the Croatian Army overran the west of the Republic of Serb Krajina in early May despite a UN presence there, and its north and south in early August, the Zagreb regime has often threatened to take also the east, by force if it could not get it by talks.

Croatia seceded at arms from former Yugoslavia in 1991, taking away the territory given it by administrative decisions in the former federation, and denying to the Serbs, a constituent nation, the right to self-determination.

Serbs Handed Over; Refugees Headed for Serbia

AU1609144395 Paris AFP in English
1319 GMT 16 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Sept 16 (AFP)—The United Nations handed over 38 suspected Croatian Serb war criminals to Croatian authorities Saturday [16 September] to allow more than 700 other Croatian Serbs living in a UN compound to leave for Serbia, a UN spokesman said.

A convoy of about 25 buses pulled out of the refugee camp at 7:30 a.m. (0530 GMT), after the United Nations allowed the detention of 38 Croatian Serbs, UN spokesman Rida Ettarashany said.

"Both groups are accompanied by UN escorts," he said.

Ettarashany said that UN legal experts had determined that the arrest warrants issued for the 38 were "consistent with international law."

The United Nations had been concerned about stone-throwing or verbal attacks on the departing refugees, as has happened in the past, but this group encountered no problems, the spokesman said.

The United Nations will escort the group to Lipovac, in Serb-controlled eastern Slavonia, where buses and ambulances from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will be waiting for them, he said.

Croatia had earlier refused to allow the hundreds of Serbs—who took refuge in the UN camp after an August offensive to retake the Serb-held Krajina region—to flee to Serbia unless Zagreb was allowed to detain those it accused of war crimes.

The UN Protection Forces here had been hoping to resolve the issue—and empty the impromptu refugee camp—quickly, because Canadian and Czech peacekeepers in Knin are scheduled to leave Croatia by late September.

"I think they're packing already," Ettarashany noted.

The Croatian Serb stronghold Knin fell in early August in a lightning Croatian offensive to retake territory seized by Croatian Serbs in 1990. The offensive, and accompanying pillaging and murders, sparked a massive outflow of refugees toward Serbia.

The 700 who took refuge in the camp after Knin fell were mainly elderly men and women and a few children.

Other Serbs who had been staying in a Knin school and other collective centers also joined the convoy, said Ettarashany, who could not say precisely how many refugees headed to Serbia on the buses.

Serbia has said that more than 200,000 people fled the region after the offensive. Croatia puts the figure at 70,000, while the UN and relief organization estimates are somewhere in the middle.

Croatian authorities had said earlier this week that they wanted to detain 35 refugees but reduced that number to 34 by Friday without explanation. In the end, 38 were detained.

Suspected War Criminals' Fate

LD1609163295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian
1453 GMT 16 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 16 Sep (SRNA-BETA)—A convoy carrying around 800 Serb Krajina refugees left the UN base in Knin for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia at 0700 [0500 GMT] today.

The BETA agency quoted the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Serb Krajina as saying that the convoy of 25 buses, which is expected to arrive at the Lipovac border crossing near Sid between 1800 and 1900, is also transporting several hundred elderly people and children, including several babies.

The departure of the Serb refugees, who found refuge at the UN base during Croatia's offensive against Krajina, was at first not allowed by the Croatian authorities, who demanded that alleged war criminals be handed over to them first.

The Croatian authorities initially demanded 68 people, but the figure was later reduced to 35. The 35 persons will be taken to Zadar, Sibenik, and Split, where they will be interrogated in the presence of UN representatives.

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Parliament Speaker on Draft Electoral Laws

LD1509162695 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 13 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The upcoming parliament session was the subject of a news conference given by parliament speaker Dr. Nedeljko Mihanovic and by Dr. Katica Ivanisevic, chairman of the Chamber of Counties. Of the 16 draft laws on the agenda of the 28th session of the Chamber of Deputies, nine will be adopted by urgent procedure while the other seven will be returned for further review. These include the draft law on the population census which, Dr. Mihanovic said, has been imposed by the voluntary migration of the Serb population.

Dr. Mihanovic also dwelled on the five draft election laws, particularly elaborating on the stricter threshold measures for the entry of parties into parliament.

[Begin Mihanovic recording] They will have to win at least 5 percent of the votes—it used to be 3 percent—in order for a deputy to enter parliament. If two coalitions are being set up, the minimum is 8 percent. [end recording]

According to Mihanovic, this increase will ensure that only parties with a good track record enter parliament.

The same points will be on the agenda of the Chamber of Counties.

[Begin Ivanisevic recording] This is because the majority of them need prior approval by the Chamber of Deputies. The Chamber of Deputies cannot make decisions without prior approval by our chamber. [end recording]

The Chamber of Deputies will hold its session on 15 and 16 September, while the Chamber of Deputies will meet in the Old City Hall on 18, 19, and 20 September.

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Crvenkovski Acclaims Diplomatic Ties to U.S.

AU1609171195 Skopje MIC in English 15 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] In yesterday's interview for the private Television station "A-1," Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski said, among the rest: "The establishment of full diplomatic relations with the United States at an ambassadorial level is an event of exceptional, I'd say historic significance for the Republic of Macedonia. It's something we have been anticipating for a long time, aware that this would contribute, to a great extent, to the strengthening of Macedonia's position not only on a bilateral plan in the relations with the United States, but at large in the international community, as well."

Text of Accord on Relations With Greece

AU1509161895 Skopje INTERIM ACCORD in English 12 Sep 95

[Text of "Interim Accord" between The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece, signed by FYROM Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski and Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias in New York on 12 September;

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Minister Karolos Papoulias, representing the Party of the First Part (the "Party of the First Part") and Minister Stevo Crvenkovski, representing the Party of the Second Part (the "Party of the Second Part"), hereby DECLARE AND AGREE as follows:

Recalling the principles of the inviolability of frontiers and the territorial integrity of States incorporated in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, signed in Helsinki,

Bearing in mind the provisions of the United Nations Charter and, in particular, those referring to the obligation of States to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State,

Guided by the spirits and principles of democracy and fundamental freedoms and respect for human rights and dignity, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, as well as the Helsinki Final Act, the Charter of Paris for a new Europe and pertinent acts of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe,

Considering their mutual interest in the maintenance of international peace and security, especially in their region,

Desiring to confirm the existing frontier between them on an enduring international border,

Recalling their obligation not to intervene, on any pretext or in any form, in the internal affairs of the other,

Desiring to develop their mutual relations and to lay firm foundations for a climate of peaceful relations and understanding,

Realizing that economic cooperation is an important element for the development of mutual relations on a stable and firm basis, as well as desiring to develop and promote future cooperation,

Desiring to reach certain interim agreements that will provide a basis for negotiating a permanent Accord,

Have agreed as follows:

A. Friendly Relations and Confidence-Building Measures

Article 1

1. Upon entry into force of this Interim Accord, the Party of the First Part recognizes the Party of the Second Part as an independent and sovereign state, under the provisional designation set forth in a letter of the Party of the First Part of the date of this Interim Accord, and the Parties shall at an early date establish diplomatic relations at an agreed level with the ultimate goal of relations at ambassadorial level.

2. The Party of the First Part shall as promptly as possible establish a liaison office in Skopje, the capital of the Party of the Second Part, and the Party of the Second Part shall as promptly as possible establish a liaison office in Athens, the capital of the Party of the First Part.

Article 2

The Parties hereby confirm their common existing frontier as an enduring and inviolable international border.

Article 3

Each Party undertakes to respect the sovereignty, the territorial integrity and the political independence of the other Party. Neither Party shall support the action of a third party directed against the sovereignty, the territorial integrity or the political independence of the other Party.

Article 4

The Parties shall refrain, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, from the threat or use of force, including the threat or use of force designed to violate their existing frontier, and they agree that neither of them will assert or

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support claims to any part of the territory of the other Party or claims for a change of their existing frontier.

Article 5

1. The Parties agree to continue negotiations under the auspices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations pursuant to Security Council resolution 845 (1993) with a view to reaching agreement on the difference described in that resolution and in Security Council resolution 817 (1993).

2. Recognizing the difference between them with respect to the name of the Party of the Second Part, each Party reserves all of its rights consistent with the specific obligations undertaken in this Interim Accord. The Parties shall cooperate with a view to facilitating their mutual relations notwithstanding their respective positions as to the name of the Party of the Second Part. In this context, the Parties shall take practical measures, including dealing with the matter of documents, to carry out normal trade and commerce between them in a manner consistent with their respective positions in regard to the name of the Party of the Second Part. The Parties shall take practical measures so that the difference about the name of the Party of the Second Part will not obstruct or interfere with normal trade and commerce between the Party of the Second Part and third parties.

Article 6

1. The Party of the Second Part hereby solemnly declares that nothing in its Constitution, and in particular in the Preamble thereto or in Article 3 of the Constitution, can or should be interpreted as constituting or will ever constitute the basis of any claim by the Party of the Second Part to any territory not within its existing borders.

2. The Party of the Second Part hereby solemnly declares that nothing in its Constitution, and in particular in Article 49 as amended, can or should be interpreted as constituting or will ever constitute the basis for the Party of the Second Part to interfere in the internal affairs of another State in order to protect the status and rights of any persons in other States who are not citizens of the Party of the Second Part.

3. The Party of the Second Part furthermore solemnly declares that the interpretations given in paragraphs 1 and 2 of this Article will not be superseded by any other interpretation of its Constitution.

Article 7

1. Each Party shall promptly take effective measures to prohibit hostile activities or propaganda by State-controlled agencies and to discourage acts by private entities likely to incite violence, hatred or hostility against each other.

2. Upon entry into force of this Interim Accord, the Party of the Second Part shall cease to use in any way the symbol in all its forms displayed on its national flag prior to such entry into force.

3. If either Party believes one or more symbols constituting part of its historic or cultural patrimony is being used by the other Party, it shall bring such alleged use to the attention of the other Party, and the other Party shall take appropriate corrective action or indicate why it does not consider it necessary to do so.

Article 8

1. The Parties shall refrain from imposing any impediment to the movement of people or goods between their territories or through the territory or either Party to the territory of the other. Both Parties shall cooperate to facilitate such movements in accordance with international law and custom.

2. The Parties agree that the European Union and the United States may be requested to use their good offices with respect to developing practical measures referred to in paragraph 2 of Article 5 so as to assist the Parties in the implementation of Article 8.

B. Human and Cultural Rights

Article 9

1. In the conduct of their affairs, the Parties shall be guided by the spirit and principles of democracy, fundamental freedoms, respect for human rights and dignity, and the rule of law, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Helsinki Final Act, the document of the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Charter of Paris for a New Europe.

2. No provision of the instruments listed in paragraph 1 above shall be interpreted to give any right to take any action contrary to the aims and principles of the United Nations Charter, or of the Helsinki Final Act, including the principle of the territorial integrity of States.

Article 10

Convinced that the development of human relations is necessary for improving understanding and good-neighborliness of their two peoples, the Parties shall

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encourage contacts at all appropriate levels and shall not discourage meetings between their citizens in accordance with international law and custom.

C. International, Multilateral, and Regional Institutions

Article 11

1. Upon entry into force of this Interim Accord, the Party of the First Part agrees not to object to the application by or the membership of the Party of the Second Part in international, multilateral and regional organizations and institutions of which the Party of the First Part is a member; however, the Party of the First Part reserves the right to object to any membership referred to above if and to the extent the Party of the Second Part is to be referred to in such organization or institution differently than in paragraph 2 of United Nations Security Council resolution 817 (1993).

2. The Parties agree that the ongoing economic development of the Party of the Second Part should be supported through international cooperation, as far as possible by a close relationship of the Party of the Second Part with the European Economic Area and the European Union [words indistinct]

D. Treaty Relations

Article 12

1. Upon entry into force of this Interim Accord, the Parties shall in their relations be directed by the provisions of the following bilateral agreements that had been concluded between the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Party of the First Part on 18 June 1959:

(a) The convention concerning mutual legal relations,

(b) The agreement concerning the reciprocal recognition and the enforcement of judicial decisions, and

(c) The agreement concerning hydro-economic questions.

The Parties shall promptly consult with a view to entering into new agreements substantially similar to those referred to above.

2. The Parties shall consult with each other in order to identify other agreements concluded between the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Party of the First Part that will be deemed suitable for application in their mutual relations.

3. The Parties may conclude additional bilateral agreements in areas of mutual interest.

Article 13

Having regard to the fact that the Party of the Second Part is a land-locked State, the Parties shall be guided by the applicable provisions of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea as far as practicable both in practice and when concluding agreements referred to in Article 12.

Article 14

1. The Parties shall encourage the development of friendly and good-neighborly relations between them and shall reinforce their economic cooperation in all sectors, including that of water resources management. In particular they shall promote, on a reciprocal basis, road, rail, maritime and air transport and communication links, using the best available technologies, and facilitate the transit of their goods between them and through their territories and ports. The parties shall observe international rules and regulations with respect to transit, telecommunications, signs and codes.

2. To this end the Parties agree to enter forthwith into negotiations aimed at promptly implementing agreements of cooperation in the aforementioned areas, taking into account the obligations of the Party of the First Part deriving from its membership in the European Union and from other international instruments. Such agreements shall relate to visas, work permits, "green-card" insurance, air space transit and economic cooperation.

Economic, Commercial Environmental and Legal Relations

Article 15

1. The Parties shall strengthen their economic relations in all fields.

2. The Parties shall in particular support development and cooperation in the field of capital investments, as well as industrial cooperation between enterprises. Special attention shall be paid to cooperation between small and medium-size companies and enterprises.

Article 16

1. The Parties shall develop and improve scientific and technical cooperation, as well as cooperation in the field of education.

2. The Parties shall intensify their exchanges of information and scientific and technical documentation, and shall strive to improve mutual access to scientific and research institutions, archives, libraries and similar institutions.

3. The Parties shall support initiatives by scientific institutions and by individuals aimed at improving cooperation in the sciences.

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Article 17

1. The Parties shall take great care to avoid dangers to the environment and to preserve natural living conditions in the lakes and rivers shared by the two Parties.

2. The Parties shall cooperate in eliminating all forms of pollution in border areas.

3. The Parties shall strive to develop and harmonize strategies and programs for regional and international cooperation for protecting the environment.

Article 18

The Parties shall cooperate in alleviating the consequences of disasters.

Article 19

1. The Parties shall cooperate in improving and promoting business and tourist travel.

2. Consistent with the obligations of the Party of the First Part arising from its membership in the European Union and from relevant instruments of the Union, the Parties shall make joint efforts to improve and accelerate customs and borders formalities, including simplification in the issuance of visas to each other's citizens, taking into account Article 5, paragraph 2 of this Interim Accord.

3. The Parties shall endeavor to improve and modernize existing border crossings as required by the flow of traffic, and construct new border crossings as necessary.

Article 20

The Parties shall cooperate in the fight against organized crime, terrorism, economic crimes, narcotics crimes, illegal trade in cultural property, offenses against civil air transport and counterfeiting.

F. Final Clauses

Article 21

1. The Parties shall settle any disputes exclusively by peaceful means in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

2. Any difference or dispute that arises between the Parties concerning the interpretation or implementation of this Interim Accord may be submitted by either of them to the International Court of Justice, except for the difference referred to in Article 5, paragraph 1.

Article 22

This Interim Accord is not directed against any other State or entity and it does not infringe on the rights and duties resulting from bilateral and multilateral agreements already in force that the Parties have concluded with other States or international organizations

Article 23

1. This Interim Accord shall enter into force and become effective on the thirtieth day following the date on which it is signed by the representatives of the Parties as set forth below.

2. This Interim Accord shall remain in force until superseded by a definitive agreement, provided that after seven years either Party may withdraw from this Interim Accord by a written notice, which shall take effect 12 months after its delivery to the other Party.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the Parties have, through their authorized representatives, signed three copies of this Interim Accord in the English language which shall be registered with the Secretariat of the United Nations. Within two months of the date of signature, the United Nations is to prepare, in consultation with the Parties, translations into the language of the Party of the First Part and the language of the Party of the Second Part, which shall constitute part of the registration of this Accord.

[signed] Representative of the Party of the First Part

[signed] Representative of the Party of the Second Part

WITNESSED [word in capitals as received], in accordance with Resolution 845 (1993) of the Security Council by:

[signed] Cyrus VanceSpecial Envoy of the Secretary-Generalof the United Nations

DONE at New York on the 12th day of September 1995

Embargo Question Seen Unanswered in Greek Accord

AU1509171695 Skopje PULS in Macedonian 15 Sep 95 pp 11-14

[Commentary by Eleonora Karanfilovska: "Time of Agreement"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] One question that has certainly remained unexplained is the embargo. Since the very beginning, Macedonia's [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] stance has been that the embargo cannot be a subject of the dispute, with the exception of its general stance that it has to be lifted before any direct negotiations or signing of an accord take place. This is not mentioned anywhere in the accord. Article 8 of the accord notes that the parties will refrain from blocking the movement of people and goods from one side of the territory to

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the other and vice versa. Both parties will cooperate in assisting such a movement in congruence with international law. The second paragraph states that both parties have agreed that the European Union and the United States can be asked for assistance in promoting practical measures from Article 5, Paragraph 2. However, the confusion lies in whether the embargo will be lifted at once or not. Mr. Vance repeated three times: "Read what I said!" and indicates to his statement—"The accord enables the unobstructed movement of people and goods between the two countries. In this reference, I can repeat that the accord, in its terms, helps to remove the measures that were introduced by the Hellenic Republic on 16 February 1994, and it also facilitates the replacement of these measures with open and cooperative relations. The indispensable measures that are necessary for the full implementation of the accord will be commented on after the signing of the accord, and they will take place in the next few weeks, while the effective date for operational activities is 30 days from today."

It is exactly the elaboration of this formula that took a lot of time: How to save the Greeks, if they actually lift the embargo with this statement before the signing of the accord, without putting it that way or: How to save the Macedonian party if it is to sign with a formally but not practically lifted embargo. In any way, it is a "Read as you like!" formula. Vance explains: "As I said, the implementation starts right now as a result of what has been achieved!" Nemitz: "There is nothing in the accord as an 'embargo.' There is a commitment for future unobstructed trade and some other matters. It means that it is a commitment for impeding any future measures that are contrary to this commitment. Mr. Vance read a statement in which he said that this agreement facilitated the lifting of the measures that were undertaken by the Hellenic Republic on 16 February 1994. This means that the accord facilitates the lifting of what the people call a 'colloquial embargo.' This is what it means."

Commentary on Opposition Protest

AU1509174795 Skopje PULS in Macedonian 15 Sep p 22

[Commentary by Vladimir Jovanovski: "Biblical Banner Carriers"]

[FBIS Translated Text] If we judge by the number of participants in yesterday's rally in front of the "Universal Hall" in Skopje, the conclusion is that the opposition parties have either drastically lost their membership or their fans are not that much distressed by the forthcoming change in the state flag. In spite of the frequent appeals of "KRT" [private TV station] broadcast on 15 September for mass participation of the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] members and fans at the "Convention for Macedonia," at the plateau in front of the "Universal Hall," barely several hundred protesters gathered—at most, a thousand. "What is this?" one of those present exclaimed in exasperation. "There is just enough of us to fill a bar. If it were the Greeks, they would have brought at least 1 million people to the square in Thessaloniki. What a disgrace!"

The "Convention for Macedonia" was transformed into the renown vulgar and nationalistic style, as it usually happens at the political manifestations that are organized by Macedonian turbo-patriots. Compared with the convention a year and a half ago, which was held at the same location on the occasion of the country's admission to the United Nations under its provisional name, this one was on a far lower level, and not because the former was held inside in the hall and the latter outside (many laughed at the explanation that there had not been technical facilities for organizing it inside). Many renowned people from two years ago were absent from the meeting. Two days ago, some of those present danced Macedonian folk dances and sang songs, while there were not any such manifestations two years ago.

In the speeches delivered from the improvised floor, as it usually happens on such occasions, there prevailed a quiet nationalism, unproven "scientific" observations, and a primitive incitement of emotions. We were once again informed that "Macedonia is a biblical country" and that "two-thirds of the Bible are related to Macedonia" (Krste Jankoski from the Labor Party), that "this country has been founded on the bones of Alexander and Philip the Macedonians, on Samoil and his 14,000 blind soldiers" (Straso Angelovski from the MAAK-Conservative Party), that "Macedonia is the queen of the Balkans, who will construct the overall democratic society" (Gjorgji Docev from the Association of Prisoners Prosecuted for the VMRO-Goce Delcev's Party Ideas), as well as that the Accord with the Greeks could have been reached 19 months ago, but that it had been postponed in order to allow the "illegitimate Macedonian authority to brainwash the people with the help of the regime mass media" (Ljupco Georgievski from the VMRO-DPMNE). The leader of the largest opposition party said that "this administration does not have any love for Macedonia" and that it is ready "for $25 million, which it will use for distributing flour to two to three factories, to give up the holiest symbols of the state." "What does a name or a flag mean for those who used to be Yugoslavs until only yesterday, who are cosmopolitans today, and perhaps Lethonians tomorrow," pointed out Georgievski, calling the day before yesterday a "disgrace for Macedonia." In

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this sense, Straso Angelovski said that it is an "act of capitulation of the Communist remnants," while Kole Mangov referred to it as to a continuation of "Tito's darkness in the country."

The people at the meeting found out about the existence of an exotic association—"Antique Macedonians" from Valandovo, whose president Dimitar Kornakov informed us about the latest discovery of a sun with 16 rays in a certain church in the region of Prilep, as well as about numerous associations of Macedonians in Australia, among whom the Macedonian Alpinist association "Sydney" and Folk Group "Despina" from Melbourne also oppose the "treacherous act of sacrificing the flag."

Judging by the meeting, the impression is that the present moment in Greek-Macedonian relations used by the Macedonian opposition is mostly for renewed attacks against the government. It was interesting to note that, except for the whistles that were heard whenever the name Carolos Papoulias was mentioned and for a young man who yelled "Greeks lizards" from time to time, there could not be spotted any emotions against the Greeks. If they had wished to do something more serious, the demonstrators would have gathered in front of the parliament. The announced protest in front of the House of the Assembly was supposed to be held before the signing of the accord, not after its ratification in the Assembly. So, it is totally improbable to expect the VMRO to behave toward the Macedonian-Greek accord the way Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] behaves toward the Israeli-Palestinian one.

Serb Party Told To Remove Pictures of Milosevic

AU1509194095 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Sep 95 p 7

[Article by M.K.: "'Unsuitable' Pictures"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Skopje, 13 September—Policemen from the first precinct unexpectedly entered the office of the Democratic Party of Serbs in Skopje yesterday afternoon. They demanded that a picture of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic be removed in light of the fact that he was "a foreign statesman" and demanded that pictures of famous Serbian World War I warriors and Serbian cultural workers also be taken off the walls.

The uniformed policemen introduced themselves as members of the first Skopje precinct, led by Zoran Stancevski, but refused to show any official warrant for their entry onto the premises of a legitimate party.

Police chief Zoran Stancevski told Dragis Miletic, president of the Democratic Party of Serbs, who was at that time chairing a meeting of the party's main committee, that the arrival of the police constituted an official warning. Namely, the members of the Democratic Party of Serbs have an obligation to remove the pictures of Slobodan Milosevic and historic World War I warriors by Thursday 14 September "unless they want to encounter Macedonian legal sanctions."

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Defense Minister Gives Results of Talks in U.S.

LD1509160195 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1500 GMT 15 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We will not agree on conditions for our entry into NATO with any country outside the pact, Defense Minister Zbigniew Okonski said on his return from the United States and Canada, where he spoke with politicians about NATO's expansion.

Okonski added that the Canadian defense minister assured him that his country will demand that NATO make a quick decision about who is to enter the pact and when. The Canadians are interested in Polish multipurpose Sokol helicopters.

The Americans will shortly present a proposal for the modernization of the F-16A and B fighter planes in Polish plants, or the production of subassemblies for a new plane of this type. Polish-U.S. negotiations will begin shortly on a plan to lift the 50-percent U.S. tax on Polish products for the U.S. Army.

Oleksy Returns from Lithuania, Comments on CEMA

LD1609212595 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1927 GMT 16 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Warsaw, 16 Sep—There is no such topic for Poland; we are not interested in such an initiative, Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy said today about the Russian initiative to create a "CEMA-Mark II", which was revealed yesterday by GAZETA WYBORCZA. Oleksy returned this evening from a visit to Lithuania, where he signed an agreement on crossborder cooperation, among others.

"I regret to have to say that GAZETA WYBORCZA stirred up some sort of topic which the Russians are not particulary keen to admit to (...) and which other countries have not noted in such a sensational way as Poland," the prime minister told a news conference at Warsaw's Okecie Airport. He said he had asked the Lithuanian president and prime minister about this idea; they, according to him, think it is "an exclusively internal matter for CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]." [passage omitted]

Commenting on his visit to Lithuania, the prime minister said he is more pleased with it than he thought he would be. "One can see an enormous will on the Lithuanian side for, so to speak, a preferential link to Poland, for its own affairs, but also for joint affairs," he said. He added that this, for him, is "a good forecast for the future." He announced that an agreement on the state border may be signed in October.

Walesa on Lack of Cooperation With Prime Minister

LD1509222695 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2100 GMT 15 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] If more than eight candidates run in the presidential elections, Aleksander Kwasniewski and Stanislaw Tyminski will go into the second round. Tyminski has a permanent electorate of possessed, resentful, half-educated drunks, President Walesa said during a visit to Krakow.

The head of state again declared himself in favor of the introduction of a presidential system of government:

[Begin Walesa recording] The prime minister says something different; I make a speech and talk about the PRL [Polish People's Republic] and all that, and he makes a speech yesterday saying the opposite. So today I tell him, in my place, I give him the proof of the reconstruction of the PRL Mark II, and the proof is even... [pauses] Look and see if I have deputy ministers in the presidential ministries, in the Foreign Ministry and the others. If I agree to a chum, then he will let the chum through and will make the appointment; and if I don't agree to the chum, then he won't appoint anybody at all, and so a year passes; for instance, I have no ambassador in Rome because I don't want to let the chum through, and he won't let a professional through. So, it can't be like this, and if we are to control these different bunches of gangsters... [pauses, laughs] I'm not afraid, I'm only afraid of God, for as you have noticed, the prime minister goes his own way, I go mine and the nation goes its. [end recording]

Oleksy on Meeting Cost of Adapting to EU

LD1709193795 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1550 GMT 17 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Nowe Miasto, 17 Sep—Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy has said, at the Voivodship Harvest Festival in Nowe Miasto nad Pilica (Radom Voivodship), that Poland is not capable of meeting the costs of the protectionist agricultural policy that is being followed by the countries of the European Union. Poland may carry out a reconstruction of its agriculture, but while obtaining significant financial aid, as other countries have done who entered into the Union in the past, he added.

The prime minister stressed that Poland wants to be a member of the Union and other structures, which "serve security and development." "This need not signify the erosion of national identity and it ought not to feared. Poland can afford rivalry and competitive victory," Oleksy said.

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He announced that the present government will undertake such decisions as will enable "the historical fear for the land, for the keep of the peasant family, and the development of the Polish countryside" to be diminished. "There is no difference between large farms and small or medium ones. The government is directed by criteria of even development of all agricultural sectors, according to economic requirements and the rules of market competition and the needs of adaptation to future competition," the head of the Polish Government explained.

At a news conference, the prime minister reported that the assumption of the government is that the budget for 1996 will assure society "a real growth in outlays, both on remuneration and on living conditions." He noted that the point is for "the dynamism of economic growth and an open economy, cooperating with the world market, to be secured through all means."

Asked about the fate of the local government reforms, Oleksy said that there is no doctrinal brake on the issue of local government reform. "The issue of the creation of a new level of local government is outside discussion. I am a supporter of a significant acceleration of the discussion and of decisions on local government, for the role of the state is still too great, and the process of devolution of prerogatives from the central level downward is not so fast as it could be," the prime minister admitted. [passage omitted]

Walesa Interviewed on Presidency, Election

LD1509233695 Warsaw Radio Zet Network in Polish 0615 GMT 15 Sep 95

[Interview with Polish President Lech Walesa by unidentified reporters; place not given—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Question] Mr. President, all candidates from the Solidarity and independence camps will meet after 22 September. What can happen during this meeting? Is the most optimistic option, from the point of view of the union, that during this meeting a single candidate for president from the whole camp will be selected?

[Walesa] Here you can see Solidarity's credo: good, naive, conscientious old Solidarity, which wants to serve the nation as best as it can—but so naive.

[Question] How is Solidarity's naivety manifest?

[Walesa] The issue is that also in this case, agreement is impossible, unlikely. The striving itself—we have to strive for it. And I have already said why. Well, because the people who fight do not give in. Fifty years of the old system created a large group of elites which only fight, oppose, and negate. These people simply do not know other ways. That is why it is not possible to select a single candidate from this group of fighting people.

[Question] Mr. President, why then hold such a meeting?

[Walesa] Oh, I've told you: this good, naive Solidarity; it wants it so much. And it is right. This is as it should be. [passage omitted]

[Question] What did you discuss with [Solidarity chairman] Marian Krzaklewski?

[Walesa] Well, I pointed to this; and at the same time I am glad that Solidarity is so romantic, clean, and would like it too, after all. [sentence as heard] But we raised many subjects, not so romantic but ones closer to life.

[Question] What subjects are closer to life?

[Walesa] Well, many subjects, some laws, initiatives, privatization, reprivatization, health services, public sector, arms industry. There are many social groups but, first and foremost, we discussed the continuity of economic and political changes. [passage omitted]

[Question] Mr. President, does it mean that on 5 November, apart from the most important question, Poles will be asked about enfranchisement? Is such a referendum possible?

[Walesa] I will strive to achieve this, to link the pleasant with the useful. [passage omitted]

[Question] Mr. President, under what banners will you go to the nation, into this campaign, this fight?

[Walesa] I have never spoken about this. [passage omitted]. I have never extolled my own successes or mentioned my failures but the nation does not know about this. The nation says that I have worked too little. That is why I will show them my work, my failures, and the lack of programmatic proposals, and I will ask for a just judgement and a fitting sentence.

[Question] Will you show your failures and mistakes during the campaign?

[Walesa] Oh yes. Of course I will.

[Question] What were these mistakes?

[Walesa] First, I took my oath on the communist constitution, and in my election campaign I said I will use an axe to introduce changes.

[Question] And why didn't it happen?

[Walesa] Why? I said: So help me God, I said that I will observe the principles of law and the constitution. But we all forgot that this constitution was to be replaced because it was a communist-Stalinist one. And in this

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case, [passage indistinct] I swore I would not violate the law; I tried to be within the limits of the law—not to violate it but to stretch it to include a new reality. And I kept getting into trouble. That was my first mistake. Later, the second mistake—well, a mistake, a failure to notice that this was not a presidential system, that it was a cabinet-parliamentary system and the president had practically no executive powers. [passage omitted]

[Question] Professor Zielinski calls you a president of the right. Meanwhile, Chairwoman Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz says that you have strengthened the left leg too much. Well, in the end, who is right?

[Walesa] I do not know. Maybe Mrs. Gronkiewicz-Wlatz is a really good, most probably a middling, economist. On the other hand, I do not know whether she knows about walking with the left or right foot, and whether or not she knows which is the left, whether she would not muddle all this up. And that is why I would like, again—well perhaps we should not speak of this, but, well precisely, I will put it another way. I would wish that, nonetheless, human memory, which is fallible, not forsake the candidates in this case. I said in relation to the left—and I will always repeat that which I have said—that it is not permitted to do to anyone—including the extant left in Poland, the communist one and the other—it is not permitted to push it into the underground. It is necessary to create conditions in the system for everyone to be able to work for the country, for the fatherland, in the same direction, and that they be able to maintain their otherness, their difference. This is the only way. I repeated this and only in this way did I support the left. And so, of course, everyone else then acknowledged this as great support. I never supported the left, and I will not, since it is far, far away from me.

[Question] And how (?has it so turned out) that Aleksander Kwasniewski is now a very popular politician?

[Walesa] The elections will say how much.

[Question] And what happens if he wins?

[Walesa] I am (?convinced) that he has not the slightest chance, since his electorate is a fading, dying one. It is not increasing, since no one will confess these ideals in Poland after 50 years of experience. Of course, I do not attribute everything to Kwasniewski, apart from the legacy which he himself has inherited with pleasure and has come to possess. If, in association with this, his troubles—for if he had established a party, organized another one, and not taken the one laid aside—then things would be otherwise. And that is why his popularity is, as I said, a dying one. It reaches 20-25 percent and no more. Of course, there is even a chance of victory, but only in one case—if people do not go to the polls. Ah, yes. And then there is a chance. On the other hand, normally, talking in average terms, if people go to the polls there is not the slightest chance. He will not reach further than his own electorate, disciplined, organized, unanimous, but of a predetermined size.

[Question] But what would happen in Poland were Aleksander Kwasniewski to win the elections?

[Walesa] Well, this is a dramatic question for him and a dramatic question for Poland. In fact, only then will he really lose, since people, even if they do not go to the polls, will then figure things out after various situations and actions. And then, in fact, there will ensue that which we did not succeed in doing on account of the Roundtable, because of some accord or other, such that it was inappropriate, for we were well behaved. [sentence as heard] And so, the real settling of accounts with the commies and with that period, a brutal settling of accounts. And, of course these are variants which I have worked out well. That is, it is thought through and [words indistinct], but thought through. And I know that one of these variants says precisely that, in fact, this will perhaps even be worthwhile for Poland, for, finally, no one will slip through, but everyone will be brought to account, and so there will be a full decommunization. And Kwasniewski might bring this about through his incidental victory.

[Question] On the eve of the elections, very many politicians think about this settling of accounts, and I wanted to find out what the president thinks about the proposals of Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz and Adam Michnik, who want the most important authorities in our country to carry out a joint self-examination, so that, through truth, a historical reckoning might bring about reconciliation. Is such an idea close to you?

[Walesa] There is a mass of proposals here, if one of the limited proposals comes from out of this milieu. Probably the best opportunity and moment is nonetheless elections, and particularly the presidential ones. And here it would be appropriate to strongly hear out the people, at rallies, at meetings, in the first phase, so as to enumerate the things which the nation requires to be solved or resolved. There are not many of them. I have been taking a look at this already. There are perhaps 10 issues and problems which require public, logical completion so that we may be able to break away from the past. And thus, as I said in a certain speech addressed to Kwasniewski, he should precisely settle accounts for the 45-year period. I did not say this maliciously, and I did not attribute things to him. I only said what they are trying to do here, so as to enumerate these things, precisely without restriant. Everyone has the right to come to a rally. Otherwise it is said that the elites [says] things

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between themselves, in parliament, and here there is an open possibility of raising subjects and later settling them. No one can say that I did not have an opportunity to raise and did not have the opportunity to demand that my subject be raised.

And, again, it is not so straightforward to settle accounts, for there cannot be an entirety. There are various stages, the development of Poland was evolutional. At the start, power was brought in on Soviet tanks, full betrayal, agents, and so on. But then, later, there were various types of compromises, already milder ones, until there came the roundtable. The roundtable can also be counted, in certain categories, as a betrayal, even. There were talks with those with whom certain people should not talk and with whom it was not appropriate, for, nonetheless, this was power with a certain continuity. [sentence as heard] But, again, without this we really would have had to go for a revolution, most probably a bloody one, and that is why we chose the lesser evil. But earlier on, someone also chose the lesser evil.

And so, if these processes of settling accounts were to be precisely specified—I have already said that they would have to be in at least three categories. And so, political decisionmakers as one category, [words indistinct] the party. Then the professional apparatus, and the Security Administration [UB], the Security Service [SB], and so on—all of those minor people, recruited by blackmail and threats, and sometimes as volunteers. And so, how to bring this period to account, and in various historical places. The first period—straight after the entry of the Soviet army, and then, later, the period up to the departure, inclusive of the resolution. That is every different stage, and this will not be done without a division. But again, do the people want this? I do not know, since we are burdened, and this has been raised—decommunization, agents—that is why I am speaking of this. I would like to check this at rallies. I would even like to announce: People, if you have subjects which require a settling of accounts, so that we tear ourselves away and start building a Poland on different principles now, then please, let no one raise things after the election campaign because the time for raising doubts will have passed.

[Question] But, as you said, rallies ...

[Walesa, interrupting] No, no, it is not me who wants to do this. That is why I am just telling you that it is possible to do it like this, and this would be the most convenient way. I will not do this at all because it is not me who is genetically burdened with communism or betrayal.

[Question] In recent interviews and statements on television, you have often stressed that in Poland a process of recommunization is in progress. What is this based upon?

[Walesa] It is necessary to remember what communism is. How we reasoned at that time, how most people, I suspect, understand communism today. For communism is at least two values, a system of administration of power—a method—and economics. And just as in economics something capitalist takes place and half a system of communism can exist, in the filling of posts, party membership, division of spoils, here those who got used to ruling in that system have remained on the same principles, taking over posts, dismissing people, and they say that that is how it has to be. Well, I don't know, quite simply they cannot act in any other way. We did not make a division into professional and political posts earlier—from top to bottom—which would have made it clear that when there are elections this is then accepted, and these people are already packed and depart without a problem. We mix these concepts and these posts, and thus, things take place which can be attributed to the old style of rule, and so to communism.

[Question] You said that we have not done this, but who is it who has not done this?

[Walesa] As a nation, as a society, as the elites ...

[Question, interrupting] [Words indistinct]

[Walesa] I too, I too, of course.

[Question, interrupting] [Words indistinct]

[Walesa] Sir, it came to me to be president in at least three different periods. And for each period, being president, it is necessary to have a different formulation and organization, for different horses are used for racing and for haulage. The first period was after the roundtable, some accord or other, something. Then we had the free elections and so a completely different right. I identified to quite an extent with all of that. And then, this last period, now, altogether opposite. And so at least three times, if not more, I had to reorient the method of action, the selection of people. This too [words indistinct] cannot be done. Just as in the first period I did not strive to jump in from the side and throw in good, beautiful ideas, for there were friends there, for this was the same current, and so every jump with even a good idea somewhat disrupts the rhythm of work. [sentence as heard] [passage omitted]

Now I would like to do things, but again I have a situation in which I have no chance since my initiatives are quite simply rejected for I am not even capable of forcing through a veto, as there is a different political option. And here lay my difficulties, and thus I was

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unable to implement, for various reasons, even though I wished to, these justified aims and solutions.

[Question] But after the elections there will be an identical situation.

[Walesa] No, no sir. It depends upon who wins these elections.

[Question] Assuming that you win?

[Walesa] No sir, if I win.

[Question] I can't assume that?

[Walesa] No sir, you may assume that, only that you have to divide the matter again into at least four parts. First, we do not have a constitution—what will the constitution be like—and so what will the model of power be, including the president in this? Hang on, I've lost my thread. But I'll come back to this when I remember. And when would my victory ensue? You said that I will win, could have, can win.

In the first place, I will propose a presidential system, for I have had enough of this mess. You want to burden me, I am ready to take on the entirety of power and put Poland in order.

[Question indistinct]

[Walesa] Hang on a moment, hang on, don't be so hasty please, for I am speaking quickly but you are overtaking me anyway, for you are shooting from the hip. That is precisely what is not permitted when you find yourself in certain circumstances. I will propose a presidential system. And if I win in the first round, then parliament—no one has the slightest chance, for the people, the people are the greatest power. And if the people choose a president in the first round, me for instance, who is proposing a presidential system, then those people have not the slightest chance. They have to say thank you. The highest power, the people, has expressed itself in favor of a presidential system, it has expressed itself in favor of President Walesa putting things in order. And now they have no choice, sir, for it is written into the constitution. The greatest, the supreme power is the people. And the nation has chosen and the nation will specify things. And so, I say, gentlemen, do you respect the people and the constitution? Reply: yes or no. If yes, then please dissolve yourselves as quickly as possible, so that I can put things in order, announce elections, and go in that direction, ask the nation: You've given me power, and now, in keeping with my idea select deputies so that I can implement it, for I very much want to. And now, what way out do they have? Three at least, and in practice two. Listen to the will of the people and the constitution or do not listen to it. If they listen then that's okay, no problem. If they do not listen, which I can accuse them of, then I, the elected president, say again to the people: listen, you have chosen, they are making light of the people, they are not acknowledging this at all, they do not wish to dissolve themselves. Help me so that they start to respect the will of the nation and the constitution.

And so, I have all these scenarios in the little finger of one hand. It is just a question of how the people will behave. If the nation behaves like that then it is clear. But I suspect that the nation will behave in a fairly tie-like fashion. It will choose me for president, but it will not give me the opportunities for such an implementation. And I will have to implement the same not in a year, not in five, not in two but in five. [sentence as heard] And so, distribute the forces and the resources for this implementation in a slightly different way.

[Question] Mr. president, leaving aside these future scenarios in favor of current affairs, Father Cybula is apparently returning tomorrow to his mother diocese in Gdansk. Will the president not miss his personal confessor?

[Walesa] Certainly. How can I reply so as to reply well? Ladies and gentlemen, things have to be put in order everywhere, and the same applies to the issue of the presidential chaplain, the chaplain of the post, as well. And so here there was not one. [sentence as heard] I came, in practice I brought Father Cybula along as a carpetbagger, in the first instance, without asking the authorities, and so I was discourteous at least. And this dragged along like this, was later put in order, the papers to put this in order came later. But, in the meantime, there arose a Diocese of the Armed Forces and the organization later put these matters in order. And now there is a problem. Whether to pull things along to the end, and drag something which is a burden through the second term, or else put it in order. I requested a putting in order. I gave up my chaplain, put him at the disposal [of the ecclesiastical authorities], and I requested a putting in order of matters, for me and for the future, so that things can be clear, so as to apply the prepared principles and the regulations. And so, there is nothing here, nothing else other than a willingness to put all matters in order including in respect of the chaplain [word indistinct].

[Question] Mr. President, you have decided for a second time to take upon yourself this enormous responsibility of running in the elections. You have already asked other candidates about this, and in light of that we will allow ourselves to ask you: Are you not afraid of God?

[Walesa] I am very much afraid, and only of God. No one else, no forces, no gangsters, no politicians. And in the name of this responsibility, God has nonetheless

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helped me hitherto, and the storms were appalling. I did not speak of this, why should I destroy your good mood, the good mood of the people? [passage omitted]

I envisage that the next term of office will be still more difficult than the last, since the difficulty is based upon something else. Precisely on what—restoring normality in Poland. It might seem that putting things in order is a fine thing. No. In putting things in order many times, I saw how a window was smashed that had been installed a moment ago, how a wall was scratched which was already painted, and many other things. This is also how it will be in the next term of office. Certain mechanisms will already start to function, which will cause things to happen. What? That you can deduce for yourselves. Various dangerous moments. And I have solutions for all these moments, since I was a born revolutionary, I led a revolution, and I know the moves and possibilities. Probably all of them. And out of this fear of God, I wish to be faithful and I come forward with a willingness to lead Poland calmly through. I personally do not like it here, I have better, more interesting ideas for my life, and I could live my life much more easily, lightly, prosperously rather than slogging away over this difficult work. But I never run away, that is how I was brought up. I fulfill my obligations up until the last second. And then I will not look in that direction for 10 years.

Comments on Election Probabilities

LD1509225395 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1730 GMT 15 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] [Presenter] At a meeting at Krakow's Sendzimir Steelworks, Lech Walesa warned that if eight right-wing candidates run for president, then Aleksandr Kwasniewski may meet Stanislaw Tyminski in the second round. Walesa was in Krakow for the 15th anniversary celebrations of the creation of the Solidarity Interfactory Founding Committee [MZKZ].

[Reporter] According to Lech Walesa, if the politicians with their roots in Solidarity do not select a joint presidential candidate, then the electorate's votes will be dissipated.

[Begin Walesa recording] If there are eight presidential candidates, then I lay you all the odds, write it down, and I'll get it dead right, eighty per cent, that's if there are eight, then there is an eighty per cent chance that in the second round you will be choosing between Kwasniewski and Tyminski; and if there are more than eight, then I give you one hundred per cent that it must be Tyminski and Kwasniewski. [end recording]

[Reporter] Lech Walesa thinks that if, in the first round of the presidential elections, a candidate who supports a presidential system wins decisively, then parliament must respect the will of the nation.

[Begin Walesa recording] It is written in the constitution that the greatest authority is the nation, and if the nation elects a president who proclaims a presidential system, then parliament has no chance, it has to honor the constitution, it has to honor the will of the nation. [end recording]

[Reporter] During the press conference, Lech Walesa acknowledged that it was improbable that the Church would begin mediation between the post-Solidarity presidential candidates. The president came to Krakow at the invitation of the Malopolska regional board of Solidarity and the workers' commission of the steelworkers at the Tadeusz Sendzimir Steelworks.

Preparing for 'Different' Presidency

LD1709125495 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1050 GMT 17 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] "A just assessment" is how POLITYKA headlines its interview with Lech Walesa, the president of the Polish Republic. Here are some excerpts:

[Unidentified correspondent] If you were to give yourself a mark out of six, like on a school report, what would it be?

[Walesa] Most probably five. I would deduct one mark, because certain personnel matters should have been resolved differently, so as not to irritate people but to implement a program.

[Correspondent] What purpose is served then by the recent changes in your chancellery?

[Walesa] A change in the concept of the presidency. The previous one was fairly simple: I was to be an above-party president, more decorative than active. During the Solidarity governments I hardly interfered at all in the problems of the executive authority. I did not want to wreck, to jump in from the side with different ideas. In the present configuration, when I an no longer emotionally linked to the ruling set, I can do this, but my initiatives are brushed off, because the coalition has a sufficient majority for that and I have hardly any executive possibilities. Now, I am preparing for a different presidency: One that will be based on agreement, on joining forces and means. That is why I am looking for people capable of uniting, who can be accepted by different groups.

[Correspondent] Are you so sure of winning the election that you are preparing your chancellery for the next presidency already?

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[Walesa] I am sure, but what I am doing now is with reference to the time remaining up to the election.

[Correspondent] So, Lech Walesa in a second term would be the opposite of Lech Walesa in the first term?

[Walesa] Precisely, except that if I was previously provocative and stirred people up, it was not in order to create confusion on purpose and to stay in power. I treated very seriously what we said back in the eighties: That we have to build pluralism and democracy, and so we must divide, really and not just in make-believe. There cannot be the kind of pluralism where I wink at Jacek Kuron and say: You be more on the left, and I will be more on the right. The division must be genuine, according to what really makes people differ. Maybe I did not always do this in the most skillful way, but I will be immodest again and say that I spotted many matters before others did.

[Correspondent] You are starting from far behind in the election. How are you going to win?

[Walesa] There is no certainty of winning, but I think that if my work is assessed justly, then I have no fears. I protected Poland from many difficult moments. I have done so much for her that there is nothing to be ashamed of. All I ask is for a just verdict and a just punishment.

[Correspondent] Another five years, then? Thank you for the interview.

Strzembosz Abandons Presidential Race

LD1609135095 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1242 GMT 16 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 16 Sep—Professor Adam Strzembosz, first chairman of the Supreme Court, said at a news conference in Warsaw today that he is abandoning the race for the office of president of the Polish Republic and that the parties supporting him will join the campaign of Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz. Strzembosz also encouraged his nonparty supporters to support the candidacy of the Polish National Bank chairwoman.

Strzembosz said that he decided to run because he is convinced that Poland needs a president above party divisions and that the Polish center-right has drawn the conclusions from a series of political defeats and is ready to cooperate. "It transpired, however, that the ambitions of many party leaders are more important than the common good and the future of the country," the Supreme Court first chairman stressed. "And although the support of parties and groups of citizens spontaneously organizing themselves in my electoral committees would be sufficient to register my candidacy, its purpose has been undermined. Rather than being a unifying force, my candidacy has become one of the many reasons for further divisions on the Polish center-right," Strzembosz added.

Kwasniewski: No Ministry Appointments If Elected

LD1509215295 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1730 GMT 15 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] candidate Aleksandr Kwasniewski has said that if he is elected [president] he will relinquish the presidential influence over appointments in the ministries of defense, internal and foreign affairs. Kwasniewski thinks that conscientious objectors should not be punished but sent to do alternative service, for example in the fire service.

At a press conference devoted to defense matters, the SLD leader said that the decisions made by Waldemar Pawlak during the conflict between the army command and the defense minister were one of the reasons for the change of prime minister. He declared that if he were president, a situation like the vote by the generals against the defense minister during the Drawsko dinner could not happen.

Aleksandr Kwasniewski said that if he became president he would not sign any law which would worsen the material situation of professional soldiers. He also came out in support of a professional army and its modernization, and a reduction in the army's numbers from 250,000 to 200,000.

Gronkiewicz-Waltz Backs Passage of Vetting Law

LD1609134095 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1306 GMT 16 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Poznan, 16 Sep—At a news conference in Poznan today, Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz expressed herself in favor of the adoption of a vetting law so that, in her view, persons holding the highest ranking state posts will not be capable of being blackmailed by anyone by virtue of their past.

In reply to a question about the sources of financing of her electoral campaign, the Polish National Bank chairwoman responded: "I am on the upkeep of those parties and associations that have supported me. I hope that these funds will flow from various sides, and of course in an official way."

Asked whether the church will undertake to mediate concerning the issue of the emergence of a single candidate of the right, Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz acknowledged that such a question, as to whether it wishes to undertake such mediation, is one that ought to be directed to the church.

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SLD's Kwasniewski Attacks Roman Catholic Church

LD1609130495 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1200 GMT 16 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Aleksander Kwasniewski, Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] candidate for president, has accused the church in Poland of not taking into account the sociopolitical realities in the country and of using undemocratic or unjust methods in defense of its own position. During a preelection meeting in Czestochowa, the SLD leader said that the Sejm's rejection of the extraordinary commission's report examining the Concordat was proper because Poland needs a constitution, above all.

Archbishop: Left-Wingers at War With Church

LD1709134895 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1147 GMT 17 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Czestochowa, 17 Sep—In a sermon to 100,000 believers gathered at Jasna Gora for the 12th National Pilgrimage of Working People, Archbishop Ignacy Tokarczuk accused left-wing politicians of waging open war against the nation and the Church.

In Archbishop Tokarczuk's opinion, Polish left-wing politicians cannot be called good politicians, "for a good politician concerns himself with the country's development, with promoting international relations, with peace, with order." Meanwhile, in the archbishop's opinion, the left-wing authorities in Poland are waging open war against the nation on a very broad front—against working people, the disabled, pensioners, farmers, and the Church, and this "does not show the politicians' depth and wisdom."

Archbishop Tokarczuk called the left-wing politicians' actions "hysterical and traumatic, the result of an antireligious and anti-God complex going back to the seeds of Marx and Lenin (...) [ellipsis as received] This theory, this utopia, has lost, whatever different name and camouflage it may be given."

Making it clear that he was speaking for himself and not on behalf of the episcopate, the archbishop also said that Poland has lived without a Concordat for 50 years and it would be better for it "to wait for the right partner who respects the nation."

Oleksy Condemns Cleric's Sermon

LD1809085195 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0706 GMT 18 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 18 Sep—Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy has described the sermon by Archbishop Ignacy Tokarczuk during the 13th National Pilgrimage of Working People in Czestochowa yesterday as "creating an atmosphere of antigovernment challenge." In an interview for Radio Zet today, he said that the sermon was close to setting the government and the authorities in opposition to the nation and made a contribution to the very bad process of setting people at variance again in Poland.

Archbishop Tokarczuk attacked left-wing politicians yesterday, saying that they are waging war on a broad front against working people, the disabled and pensioners, and farmers as well as against the Church.

Oleksy said that this does not make him feel "too good," particularly since "these are statements by someone who, in the final analysis, doesn't know much about government." According to Oleksy, Archbishop Tokarczuk said "something more, something very bad"—that the government is working against the nation. "From here we are approaching terrible statements, placing the government and the authorities in opposition to the nation using generalized words and very camouflaged content."

"Archbishop Tokarczuk has contributed to the very bad process of setting people in Poland at variance again, of putting them in opposition to each other, through accusations which are totally unproven," the prime minister said. He added that he can understand the criticism and the bitter tone regarding the concordat "because this is a protracted matter," but the archbishop made very sweeping statements and created an atmosphere "de facto of antigovernment challenge."

Walesa Dedicates Monument to Stalin's Victims

LD1709213995 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1907 GMT 17 Sep 95

[Speech by President Lech Walesa given in Warsaw at the unveiling of a Monument to the Fallen and Murdered in the East—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] I apologize for the few minutes delay in arriving, but I had to be in the Kresy [borderlands] of the Third Republic today. There was a technical problem, I have just arrived straight from the journey.

Dear people of the Eastern Kresy, dear Varsovians. Poles in the Kresy have left deep marks through their presence there. They brought to the borderlands different cultures and nations' universal values, based on European civilization and Christian ideals. In critical moments, they were the rampart of the republic and of Europe. During the years of the partitions, Vilnius and Lviv played a special role. They were the centers of independent thought and action from which there arose

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the Second Republic. The betrayal and attack on Poland by the Soviet Union became the start of the national Gehenna of the inhabitants of the Kresy. Their tragic fate was fulfilled by bloody national conflict, together with force and violence on the part of Ukrainian and Lithuanian chauvinists. The people of the Kresy died in Katyn, Miednoye, and Kharkiv, in Paneriai, in Volhynia, and Podolye. They laid their bones to rest in many nameless places of torture, not known to this day, across the whole of the inhuman land.

Remembering the dead, neither is it permissible to forget the living, about those who have, despite discrimination and persecutions, remained in their homeland. Or about those who were forced to leave it, taking with them their memories of the land of their fathers. And also the young generations, growing up and keeping in their hearts the memory of where their people come from. The people of the Kresy have not, up until today, heard from anyone even a word of apology for their sufferings. The successive governments of the Polish People's Republic and then later of the Third Republic did not see the problems of the populace deported from the Kresy. They did not see the necessity for spiritual and material support, nor for moral compensation for their road through suffering. [applause]

The construction of a future Europe without borders requires mutual trust between nations. This will not be possible without overcoming past reservations, without clarifying to the end the painful matters of the past, and telling the full truth about it. The people of the Kresy have waited for a very long time for this historical truth about the Polish Golgotha of the east. Only today, on the 56th anniversary of the Soviet attack on Poland, do we honor its victims. We honor the memory of all those fallen and murdered in the east. Let the monument unveiled today recall for us the 2 million of our countrymen who died only because they were Poles. [applause]

Let the ceremony today, closing the commemorations of Katyn Year, be a warning for the world. Let it be proof that every crime will someday be called by name and that the guilty will meet the just judgement of history. [applause]

Walesa: Mining Industry Receives Insufficient Aid

LD1809114295 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1100 GMT 18 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Lech Walesa, who is meeting representatives of the secretariat for the mining and power industry of Solidarity today, has acknowledged that aid to the mining industry, which played a great part in the country's democratic transformations, is insufficient. The subject of the president's meeting with the trade unionists includes the issue of coal prices, which in Solidarity's view are being raised by middlemen.

In the opinion of secretariat representative Krzysztof Mlodzik, the president is the only one to have shown an interest in this issue. The Industry Ministry, Mlodzik said, makes light of coal scandals, calling them irregularities.

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Iliescu Defends Record on Minority Policy

AU1609142595 Bucharest DIMINEATA (supplement) in Romanian 8 Sep 95 p I

[Interview with Romanian President Ion Iliescu by Hungarian correspondent Laszlo Bihari for the Romanian-language broadcasts of Budapest Radio in Bucharest on 5 September: "All Conditions Exist From a Constitutional, Legislative, and Political Practice Viewpoint To Ensure the Full and Unhampered Assertion of the National Identity of the Hungarian Minority in Romania"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Bihari] The main parliamentary parties in Hungary and the entire Hungarian intelligentsia believe that the price for a historic Hungarian-Romanian reconciliation—to put it like that—should be the normalization of the situation of the Hungarian national community in Romania regarding the issues of education, bilingual signs, and the achievement of local territorial autonomy, not on ethnic criteria, but nevertheless an autonomy that also stipulates certain collective rights. What is your opinion on that? Is Romania able or willing to pay such a political price for the reconciliation between the two nations and countries?

[Iliescu] I believe there is no need to talk about costs or a price to be paid; similar experiences in this respect confirm what I have just said. If we remove certain ballast with political connotations—which foster separatism and segregation—from various slogans ventilated on this subject, we realize that the way is clear for reconciliation, since all conditions exist from constitutional, legislative, and political practice for the full and unhampered assertion of the national identity of the Hungarian minority in Romania. The same applies to its political representation, including at the highest level, in Romania's Parliament, at the local level, and in various elected councils, because the elections were held on no other criteria but the known ones: In the localities where the Hungarian population is in a majority, its representatives make up the majority in the respective local councils.

The principle of local autonomy is a legislatively attested constitutional principle, which was implemented in the 1992 February elections in the structure of the councils elected by the population and in the rights and possibilities the people enjoy to solve their local problems. The problems faced by the elected local bodies and administration are the general problems being faced by the entire Romanian society and are linked to the modest level of financial means available to us, because the entire economy is going through a period of hardships. Otherwise, all conditions exist for local autonomy. Likewise, councils were set up at the level of counties, consisting of the representatives of various component localities, which in turn are an exact reflection of the composition of the respective population.

On the educational level, I do not think that there are many countries in Europe that ensure such a broad framework for education in the mother tongue of the minorities, as the one enjoyed by the Hungarians in Romania at all levels. In the rest, everything is mere arguments about nuances.

I would like the Romanians in Hungary to also possess the same possibilities that the Hungarians enjoyed and are still enjoying in Romania. Unfortunately, we note that a true process of denationalization and assimilation of the Romanian population has taken place in Hungary. There are Romanian children, including the children of Romanian intellectuals, who no longer speak Romanian and have no possibilities to practice and use their mother tongue, which they are currently studying in Gyula as a foreign language only, since the rest of their education is in Hungarian, which is not the case in Romania.

In Romania, the Hungarians who wish it can study all subjects in their mother tongue. Therefore, the viewpoint expressed by the representatives of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR]—who express their discontent with the fact that subjects such as Romania's history and geography are still to be taught in the Romanian language—is unnatural. They would like even that to be taught in Hungarian. They are also displeased with the fact that certain vocational subjects that allow the students to integrate themselves in Romanian society are also being taught in Romanian, although they have the possibility to learn the respective terminology in Hungarian as well. Therefore, what we are dealing with here are certain unnatural and artificial accents that are in dissonance with the requirements of life and with the practical reality of the Romanian society.

[Bihari] Mr. President, public opinion in Hungary has received with great sorrow, I would say, the parallel being drawn in your country between the legitimate representative of the Hungarians in Romania, the UDMR, and Mr. Gheorghe Funar's extremist nationalist party, the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR], with both these political groupings being considered extremist and nationalistic. Is this your opinion, too?

[Iliescu] First of all, I do not consider either of these groupings extremist as a whole, but I said that there are extremists on both sides—that is, individuals with extremist positions. I cannot avoid considering certain statements made by certain UDMR leaders, including its honorary president, as extremist when they talk about cultural genocide and the violation of basic rights and consider the current regime akin to Ceausescu's regime,

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and so forth. Indeed, these are extremist outbursts that only fuel reverse extremism from certain Romanian politicians and leaders. However, I do not believe that any grouping should be identified with these leaders.

[Bihari] Mr. President, another issue ventilated in the Hungarian press from Romania, and even in the international press, is the cooperation with Slovakia sealed in Bucharest on the occasion of Prime Minister Meciar's visit to your country. We are talking here about a Romanian-Slovak-Serbian cooperation in matters regarding the Hungarian national minorities living in these three states. This cooperation and harmonization of the positions of the three countries, including Serbia, has brought back memories of the former Little Entente, as an initiative designed to counter the Pan-European cooperation efforts within the Council of Europe and the European Parliament. What is your position on this triple alliance, so to say, which some interpret as being anti-Hungarian?

[Iliescu] We have never attached to our relations with a given state a hostile connotation vis-a-vis another state. Therefore, our relations with Slovakia have never had and do not have any anti-Hungarian connotation, the same as our relations with Hungary will not acquire a connotation directed against any other neighboring state. On the contrary, we consider that these are elements that should bind us. Even the existence of a Hungarian minority in several neighboring states is a binding element and the exchange of experience among all the countries neighboring on Hungary, including their exchange of experience with Hungary itself, can only help to foster a climate, whereby the residues of history can be eliminated and a favorable framework for understanding among our countries can be created.

[Bihari] Mr. President, an eminent leader of the Romanian opposition, Mr. Coposu [president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party-PNTCD] recently said that the current Education Law, although barely adopted, is not final. It can be improved. What is your opinion in this respect?

[Iliescu] I already said that when I promulgated it. Any law is an end result and a synthesis of all opinions formulated on the respective subject. This does not mean that we should change the Education Law today. After all, it is the result of discussions and deliberations in Parliament, which lasted for four years; these discussions and deliberations, which had been going on for some time, did not take place only on the political plane, but also with people from the general education system and from preuniversity and university education. The parliamentary commissions consulted all people from the Romanian education system, and the representatives of all parties expressed their opinions on the matter. In the end, we put together a synopsis of all these opinions. Of course, there are always certain minority opinions on any subject, but then this is the rule in any Parliament and democratic institutions, which cannot always express a unanimity of views.

[Bihari] Therefore, Mr. President, if I correctly interpret your words, you believe that it is possible to amend this law in the future, at least on those points, which the Hungarian national minority considers as detrimental to the education in the mother tongue?

[Iliescu] Any law can be amended with the passage of time, on the basis of experience and the accumulation of new experiences that impose the necessary corrections. However, this does not mean that we should do it right away. We have yet to start implementing the law. It has just been promulgated and it must be applied by the beginning of the school year. After its implementation, we will see whether corrections and amendments are necessary, and Parliament will be free to consider this. Therefore, when one says that the law can be improved, it does not mean that it should be amended right away. It does not mean that the law is faulty. When he made that statement, Mr. Coposu also said that the Education Law is a fully European law. The same was also said by other international observers, including Mr. Van der Stoel [high commissioner for national minorities of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe], who considers the Education Law as a perfectly European law.

[Bihari] He also made several critical remarks about the provisions on vocational education.

[Iliescu] No, that was not criticism. He only retained certain observations and concerns of the UDMR leadership. On the other hand, he also considered that many viewpoints expressed by certain UDMR leaders are exaggerated.

[Bihari] Mr. President, I would like to conclude with a personal question, which nevertheless has an extremely important political connotation, including the sphere of the Hungarian-Romanian relations, in light of this recent initiative of yours for a historic Hungarian-Romanian reconciliation. Do you intend to run in the next elections for Romania's presidency?

[Iliescu] This is a subject that I do not want to go into right now because there is still a long time to go until then, and I will make my decision public at the right time. However, regarding the idea of a historic reconciliation, I would like to add a few things. First of all, I would like to repeat what I have said on other occasions, too—namely, that we do not proceed from

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zero in that matter and that we do not proceed from a state of conflict among our countries. I have positively assessed and considered the fact that the same view is also shared by Hungary's political leadership and that the relations between our countries are in a developed stage and continue to expand. There are many positive elements in our political, economic, social, human, and even military ties.

Therefore, we are proceeding from the reality of sufficiently developed relations between our countries. It is only natural that there are certain elements that have accumulated themselves with the passage of time, as well as certain residual factors that are still reflected in various political stands expressed both in Romania and Hungary. Such problems have existed and will always exist. It is the duty of the politicians and the political leaderships to tackle them in a realistic manner and to find appropriate solutions to them.

But I even went one step further, and it is not by accident that I launched this idea at the anniversary of the Vienna Diktat. Mr. Jeszenszky [member of Hungarian Parliament and former minister of foreign affairs] expressed his concern that this anniversary and commemoration might trigger resentments and anti-Hungarian stands in Romania. But I wanted to do the opposite and launch a positive idea exactly at such a time that proves that beyond the various conflictual elements accumulated along history, the basic interest of Romania and Hungary is to develop relations of good neighborliness, friendship, and cooperation that meet the interests of both our nations. I believe that this is also the basic sentiment of the common people in Romania and Hungary. Consequently, we must meet these requirements of life and of our interest in ensuring our all-European integration. It is not by chance that I referred to the French-German example, since it involves two countries that have gone through states of conflict, which were at the origin of the last two world wars. Moreover, I believe that Romania and Hungary have all the necessary elements and prerequisites to develop relations of good neighborliness, understanding, mutual esteem and respect, and profitable cooperation between our countries and peoples.

[Bihari] May it be so, Mr. President. Thank you very much for the interview granted to the Romanian-language broadcasting section of Radio Budapest.

Interviewed on New Education Law

LD1709113295 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0705 GMT 17 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] Last weekend, journalists of the external services of Hungarian radio interviewed Romanian President Ion Iliescu at an international seminar in Bucharest. At the time it was decided that the interview would be broadcast in full by Romanian radio as well. However, subsequently, certain parts of the interview were omitted from the Romanian radio broadcast. For example, Romanian radio carried the president's statement that the new education law was one of the most liberal ones in Europe but in the interview given to Hungarian radio, he also admitted that it was man's creation and therefore by no means eternal. It could be further refined sometime soon or further in the future.

We now replay the questions and replies that were omitted by the Bucharest radio broadcast. Laszlo Bihari was the correspondent at the seminar.

[Begin recording] [Bihari] President Coposu, one of the foremost leaders of the Romanian opposition said a few days ago that the education law was by no means eternal and that it could be improved or amended. How do you view this?

[Iliescu in Romanian fading to Hungarian translation] I said the same thing when I signed it. All laws are man's creation and can be perfected further. Not now, however, because it was the result of four years of parliamentary and political debates and professional preparations. [passage omitted] Naturally, opposing minority views remained but this is the logic of any parliament or democratic institution—no decision can command complete consensus.

[Bihari] In other words, is the amendment of the law possible in those areas where the ethnic Hungarians consider it to be injurious to them from the point of view of their education in the mother tongue? Is it possible at least in the long term? Do I understand your words correctly, president?

[Iliescu] All laws can be modified when the experiences suggesting that there is a need for modification have become apparent. However, not now, at the start of the new academic year when we have to implement it. During the course of its implementation it will become clear whether modifications, corrections are necessary. The parliament will have the possibility to debate it again.

However, it does not mean that this law has shortcomings. Coposu, too, said that it was completely in accord with European standards. He was not the only one. Others, including international observers such as van der Stoel [High Commissioner for Nationalities Max], said the same thing.

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[Bihari] He [Stoel] also expressed a certain amount of criticism, for example, with regard to vocational training.

[Iliescu] No, he did not criticize it. He only noted some of the comments and concerns of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania leadership. Indeed, he said that some of their demands were excessive. [end recording]

[Announcer] The Romanian president's phrases are really very interesting and noteworthy. How does our studio guest Istvan Szent-Ivanyi, political state secretary at the Hungarian Foreign Ministry assess them?

[Szent-Ivanyi] It has one positive element. This is the first time that it has been voiced that amendments to this law are conceivable and may be expected and that, in an implicit way, the Romanian president effectively admitted the weakness of the law by saying that it was man's creation that might need improvement. However, it is not enough, and we are not talking about what is not enough for the Hungarian Government, but what is not acceptable for the Hungarians living there because while the president envisages the modification of the law in the long term, the changes dictated by the new law are implemented on the ground.

There had been some concessions in the recent past. I would list as one of the most important among these the permission granted by the Romanian authorities to ethnic Hungarian pupils of Hungarian language secondary schools to take their university entrance exams in Hungarian this year. However, this was a one-shot concession and not a long-term one. In other words, the modifications must be affected with regard to the entire law.

I also view this in the context of President Iliescu's proposal for Hungarian-Romanian historical reconciliation. Provided that there is a real and frank intention behind the proposal, I am sure that we will find a solution to this problem, too.

[Announcer] Can we assume this, or should we not view this proposal as another propaganda balloon?

[Szent-Ivanyi] First of all, we highly appreciate that Iliescu, too, has recognized the need for reconciliation and improvement of relations. [passage omitted]

However, we think that speaking about reconciliation is only worthwhile when it is neither an empty propaganda trick, nor an empty phrase but when deeds, too, lend credibility to the words of intention. From this point of view we have some doubts. This very Education Law, which the Romanian Parliament adopted only this summer and which is still defended by the president, suggests that the necessary mental framework and psychological conditions for reconciliation exist in Romania only to a limited extent. [passage omitted]

We would like to see signals by the Romanian side that make absolutely clear that the president and his government endeavors to achieve real reconciliation.

Law Protested in Transylvania

LD1509212395 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 15 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Representatives of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [UDMR], the historic churches, and various Hungarian organizations have staged protest actions in several Romanian towns against the limitations of teaching in the mother tongue.

In Sfintu Gheorghe, 7,000 students and 1,500 parents formed a live chain around the Hungarian schools for quarter of an hour. Elsewhere, people wore white armbands as a sign a protest.

Meanwhile, in his school opening address in Oradea, President Iliescu called on the Romanian and Hungarian teachers to support the Hungarian-Romanian reconciliation and defended the Romanian education law which, in his view, is being attacked without any foundation.

Ethnic Hungarian Prefect Replaced by Nationalist

LD1509214895 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 15 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The newly appointed prefect of Mures County is a member of Gheorghe Funar's Romanian National Unity Party. Karoly Kerekes, a Mures County member of the Romanian Chamber of Deputies, has sent a letter of protest to the government in Bucharest. He writes that he finds it impossible to understand what made the government dismiss the previous prefect and replace him with a member of the Romanian National Unity Party. In Kerekes's opinion, it is extremely strange to grant this office to the representative of the unity party because its leader's statements are in direct contradiction to President Iliescu's offer of Romanian-Hungarian reconciliation.

Iron Guard Celebrates Anniversary in Iasi

LD1509200595 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 15 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Iron Guard can hold public celebrations again in Romania. Tibor Bogdan reports.

[Bogdan] Those who feel nostalgic about the interwar Romanian fascist movement held a celebration in the

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Moldovan town of Iasi, in northeastern Romania, to commemorate the 55th anniversary of the Iron Guard-governed national state. [passage omitted]

Iron Guard members have become especially active in Romania recently. During the summer they opened a camp in the Carpathian mountains—after a 50 year pause. The Romanian leadership has taken no step against them so far, despite the fact that responsible U.S. politicians repeatedly expressed reservations about the strengthening of extremist Romanian [nationalist] tendencies and about attempts at rehabilitating [Romanian wartime leader] Ion Antonescu.

Gheorghe Funar, president of the Romanian National Unity Party, which is a member of the government coalition, said that, in accordance with the demands of the overwhelming majority of the Romanian people, he would initiate the marshal's official rehabilitation.

PRM Designates Tudor as Presidential Candidate

AU1709124995 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 16 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The National Council of the Greater Romania Party [PRM] designated Senator Corneliu Vadim Tudor, the president of that party, as candidate of this political formation in the presidential elections of 1996, our reporter Florin Lepadatu informed us.

The PRM senator accepted the proposal to run for the supreme position in the state. The plenary meeting of the PRM National Council, that was held today, also adopted a number of decisions regarding the strategy of action in the future electoral campaign, our reporter also informed us.

Wants Moldovan President for Vice President

AU1609153095 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 16 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The proceedings of the plenary meeting of the Greater Romania Party [PRM] National Council began this morning in Bucharest.

At the opening of the meeting, Corneliu Vadim Tudor, president of that party, delivered a speech on Romania's social, economic, and political situation. He assessed that all the three post-December 1989 governments [Roman, Stolojan, and Vacaroiu Governments] are responsible for the poverty and misery currently prevailing in Romania and, to the desperation of the majority of the population, the Romanian society is inadequately ruled.

Regarding the observance of the four-party protocol, Corneliu Vadim Tudor expressed profound dissatisfaction, mainly because the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR) has violated the principles of the political alliance's functioning, however, he mentioned that the only possible viable solution is to preserve the alliance between the PDSR, PUNR [Romanian National Unity Party], PRM, and PSM [Socialist Party of Labor].

During the meeting, the speaker announced that the PRM leadership called for the ban on political police, for the dismissal of Virgil Magureanu from the SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service] leadership and for his urgent investigation, because, quote, he is guilty of deliberately destroying the most important secret service of Romania, unquote.

Likewise, referring to the future elections in 1997, Corneliu Vadim Tudor said that the PRM will run alone on its separate electoral lists. The PRM leadership proposed the ban on political formations based on ethnic criteria, the organization of a national referendum on the issue of republic or monarchy, and the creation of two positions of vice presidents of Romania, with the note that one of them should belong to Moldova's president, with a view to accelerating the process of unification, our reporter Florin Lepadatu informed us.

Conservative Party Leader on Electoral Alliances

AU1609143495 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 11 Sep 95 p 5

[Interview with PC President Nicolae Vrabiescu by C. Draghici; place and date not given: "We Are Against the System of Parties With Many Members"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Draghici] How will the Conservative Party [PC] present itself at the next elections?

[Vrabiescu] The PC will contest both the next local and general elections alone, without entering into any kind of political alliance, because we are not interested in what is going on in the political landscape. We are addressing ourselves to the electorate, which will have to decide.

[Draghici] Do you think that the electorate is favorable to you?

[Vrabiescu] My conviction is that this time, the electorate will be much wiser and, from our direct contacts with the citizens, we realized that they have become more awake than the so-called political class. We said that, whether we eliminate the corruption or not, it all depends on the way in which the electorate will vote. [passage omitted] The last four years were disastrous as far as the direct links between the local and central administration were concerned. Each side blamed the other for this situation, which is not the right way to go about it. Normally, both the central and local administration must cooperate to the benefit of the citizen.

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[Draghici] In what localities do you have PC branches?

[Vrabiescu] We, as a political party, are against the system of parties with many members. We are supporters of the theory of a limited core of people who make politics, because politics is a profession. [passage omitted] Nevertheless, you should not believe that our party is not properly represented. We have local organizations in Ploiesti, Craiova, Piatra-Neamt, Constanta, Calarasi, Brasov, and Baia Mare.

[Draghici] How do you assess our overall political life, from the perspective of the party you belong to?

[Vrabiescu] As far as we are concerned, the political life consists of two big spheres of activity, which we have actually promoted within the party itself. The first is strictly technical and regards our legislation. In this respect, we have worked out some 40 laws, some of which are absolutely new, while others are older, to whom we brought various modifications. The other aspect refers to sounding out the opinion of the public at large and is closely correlated with the first sphere. Therefore, we are drawing up statistics of the electorate's requirements, while also striving to instill dynamism in the legislative activity and thus restore the citizens' trust in the possibility of their participation in governing the country. [passage omitted]

[Draghici] On what social categories are you counting in the elections?

[Vrabiescu] Right now, we are exploring the aspirations of various categories of citizens from several regions. [passage omitted] Basically, we address ourselves to the farmers owning their land and various categories of workers with specific skills.

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Federal

Milosevic, Holbrooke-Led U.S. Delegation Meet

LD1609225095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2157 GMT 16 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 16 Sep (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic today held further talks with the high-ranking U.S. delegation headed by Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke.

The talks on the current military and political situation in the region comprehensively examined all the aspects determining the intensity and further course of the peace process, which should lead to a successful conclusion at the international peace conference in Geneva. Special emphasis was laid on halting the military escalation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, as an irreplaceable condition for the further acceleration of the so far successful course of the negotiating process.

It was noted in this respect that the international community should use its authority to prevent the instigators and perpetrators of the latest offensive operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina in their efforts to obstruct a political denouement, and plunge the region back into war, at a time when all the necessary political conditions have been created to ensure that the ending of the civil war and the conclusion of a political solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina are not further postponed.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia continues to make its constructive contribution to the success of the initiated political process, which was initiated and conducted by the United States, in the firm belief that this is the path to a final and positive outcome, the objective of which is the establishment of peace and stability in the Balkans.

The talks were also attended by Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic and U.S. charge d'affaires in the Federal Republic, Rudolph Perina, the Serbian President's office reports.

Holbrooke, Milosevic Resume 'Useful' Talks

LD1809104195 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0959 GMT 18 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 18 Sep (TANJUG)—Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, and Richard Holbrooke, leader of the American negotiating team, today resumed the talks they began late last night.

Holbrooke said today that last night's talks with Milosevic were useful, and that the peace process is moving forward despite numerous difficulties.

He said that the aim of today's talks is the same, and that the fact that the Serbs in Bosnia have fulfilled their commitments regarding the withdrawal of heavy weapons so far is encouraging. Holbrooke said he expects the Serbs to complete the withdrawal within the set deadline. Otherwise, unpredictable events could take place, he warned.

Holbrooke did not answer a question on the Muslim-Croat offensive and the threat it could pose for the peace process.

Holbrooke is due to visit Zagreb, where he is expected to hold a final round of consultations on the peace plan with Croatian and Muslim leaders.

Paper: Milosevic Tries for Aegean Sea 'Access'

LD1609163095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1453 GMT 16 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 16 Sep (SRNA)—Belgrade daily NASA BORBA today reported that Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, requested Richard Holbrooke, U.S. assistant secretary of state, to "urgently negotiate the normalization of Greek-Macedonian [Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] relations and secure the FRY's access to the Aegean Sea."

According to some reliable sources that NASA BORBA is quoting, Milosevic's demands, raised during his meeting with Holbrooke, had more to do with areas south of Serbia than the ones across the Drina and Danube. [passage omitted]

The Greeks, the daily reported, gave some sort of consent but did not agree to the Serbian president's alleged demand that Yugoslavia should have its customs officials in Thessaloniki within the framework of the "Thessaloniki arrangement."

An agreement of some sort of a Yugoslav-Serbian zone will be signed in the near future, the source claims. The control of this zone and its functioning will be carried out by a mixed Serbian-Greek company.

'Several Thousand' Demonstrate at U.S. Embassy

LD1509172595 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1640 GMT 15 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 15 Sep (TANJUG)—This afternoon, several thousand people staged a one-hour demonstration in front of the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade, in protest against NATO bombardment of the Serb Republic.

The protest rally, organized by the Association of Serbs from Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Serbian Writers'

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Association, the Democratic Party, the Democratic Party of Serbia, the Serbian Liberal Party, and the Serbian Committee for the Protection of Rights and Freedoms, was addressed by Slobodan Rakitic [chairman of the Serbian Writers' Association] and Gojko Djogo.

Djogo, chairman of the Association of Serbs from Bosnia-Herzegovina, said that today's rally was organized in order to underline in a nonviolent manner that "all that NATO and America have done to the people in the Serb Republic is a crime." [passage omitted]

Most of the slogans at the rally, which passed without incident and amid tight security measures, were against NATO and U.S. policy.

'Go Home Assassins'

AU1509165095 Paris AFP in English 1635 GMT 15 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept 15 (AFP)—Thousands of angry Serbians shouting "Go home assassins" massed outside the U.S. Embassy on Friday to protest NATO's two-week campaign of airstrikes against the rebel Serbs in Bosnia.

Some 300 anti-riot police cordonned off the embassy from the demonstrators, who waved banners dubbing U.S. President Bill Clinton a "fascist" and NATO chief Willy Claes a "war criminal." There were no incidents.

Milosevic, Rifkind End Talks; Statement Released

LD1709222095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2125 GMT 17 Sep 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept 17 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia is making a constant contribution to the peace process and to efforts for a political settlement, said a statement from talks between Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and British Foreign Secretary Malcolm Rifkind.

Milosevic and Rifkind ended their talks in Belgrade late on Sunday.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Federation of Serbia and Montenegro) is making a continued contribution to the positive course of the peace process and to the creation of the necessary conditions for finding political solutions, the statement said.

With its political approach, Yugoslavia has crucially contributed to the acceleration of the peace process, in the belief that peace must be restored to the Balkans as soon as possible to let its peoples turn to development and equality-based cooperation, it said.

The statement, issued from the Serbian president's cabinet, said Rifkind had shown a special interest in the present moment in and the future course of the peace process, which is gaining in intensity.

Rifkind conveyed to Milosevic the british government's support for the latest efforts and successful moves being made with the aim of ending the crisis in former Yugoslavia by peaceful means in the shortest possible time, it added.

In this context, it is of special importance to effect a general cessation of hostilities in Bosnia-Herzegovina and begin dealing with other questions outstanding in the peace package in preparation for the upcoming international conference, the statement said.

It added that special attention in the talks was devoted to promoting relations between Yugoslavia and Great Britain.

Both sides noted that the resumption of all-round relations, development of economic and cultural cooperation and directing of overall Yugoslav-British relations towards increasing and creating mutual gain was in the interest of both sides, the statement said.

UK's Rifkind Comments on Talks With Milosevic

LD1809092995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0911 GMT 18 Sep 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept. 18 (TANJUG)—British Foreign Secretary Malcolm Rifkind said after three-hour talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic he believed there was an opportunity for the present time of peace in Bosnia.

He told reporters he discussed with Milosevic possibilities for achieving peace in Bosnia, adding that reports on the withdrawal of Serb heavy weaponry from around Sarajevo were encouraging.

Should the withdrawal end within the given deadline, that would enable all efforts to concentrate on the diplomatic process, he said.

Rifkind said he hoped conditions would be created for the lifting of the anti-Yugoslav sanctions, adding that creating conditions for a peace process was the best way to achieve the lifting of the sanctions.

Asked of the threat to the peace process from the current Muslim-Croat offensive against the Bosnian Serbs, Rifkind merely said the solution can be found only in negotiations.

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He said many questions had to be settled before arriving at an official decision on the Bosnian peace conference, although he hoped that would be soon.

Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic said the Muslim-Croat offenseive could jeopardize the peace efforts.

Milutinovic said the offensive could not solve anything, although it caused grave concern, as well as the NATO bombing of Serbs in Bosnia which enabled the advancement of the Muslims and Croats.

He said Rifkind had come to Belgrade at the right moment, adding though there was much work ahead after the Geneva conference, at which foundations were laid for all solutions, 'We are on a good way to coming quickly to a peaceful settlement of the crisis in Bosnia.'

State Duma on Aims of Visit to Serb Republic

LD1709184695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1730 GMT 17 Sep 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept. 17 (TANJUG)—Head of a Russian state Duma (lower house) delegation Sergey Aleksandrovich Glotov said here on Sunday that the primary aim of the delegation's visit to the Bosnian Serb Republic had been to collect evidence of NATO's aggression against Bosnian Serbs.

The delegation on Sunday returned to Belgrade, after a short visit to Pale.

This delegation is the first in a row of similar delegations which will visit Yugoslavia and the Bosnian Serb Republic by the end of the month because of current developments.

Glotov told a news conference that NATO's bombing had resulted in a large number of civilian casualties and destruction of civilian facilities.

According to Serb sources, there were hundreds of civilian casualties in NATO air strikes against Bosnian Serbs, which started on August 30, and a number of civilian targets, such as hospitals, schools, post offices, bridges and residential buildings were destroyed in the bombing.

Russian delegation member Konstantin Fedorovich Zatulin said that initial reactions in Moscow to the delegation's visit to former Yugoslavia were very positive, primarily those by parliamentary circles, which he said most Russian people supported.

Zatulin said that the majority of Russia's citizens were opposed to the Western military aggression against Serbs and wanted a peaceful settlement of the crisis.

The situation being what it is, the Russian parliamentarians did not want any contacts with Muslim and Croat officials, Zatulin said.

New parliamentary delegations, which would start to arrive one after another as of next week, would practically represent a permanent Russian parliamentary mission in the zone of conflict, Zatulin said.

He again accused the Russian diplomacy and the Russian foreign minister for disastrous failures that had brought Yugoslavia in an extremely difficult and Russia in a humiliating position.

Minister Says 'RS' Able To Provide for Refugees

AU1509190195 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 15 Sep 95

[Report on news conference by Tomica Raicevic, federal minister without portfolio and chairman of the Federal Headquarters for Accommodation of Refugees, by Dragana Vasiljevic in Belgrade on 15 September—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] We gained a favorable impression in Geneva. The visit was successfully organized and our delegation was well received. This was the prevailing assessment of the Geneva talks by the participants: Tomica Raicevic, chief of the delegation; Branislav Ivkovic, chief of the Serbian Headquarters for Accommodation of Refugees; Miroslav Ivanisevic, federal minister of labor, health, and social policy; his assistant Pavle Todorovic; and Bratislava Morina, Serbian minister of refugees.

The result of the talks is a greater assistance by international and humanitarian organizations, which can be expected until the end of the year. [passage omitted]

Journalists were told that our delegation in the talks voiced dissatisfaction with the level of assistance offered by the international organizations hitherto. The following data support this: From 1991 to 1995, our country spent $1.7 billion on caring for the refugees, in which the international community participated with 15 percent. The cost of food, education, and medical care for each refugee amounts to $100 per month. The representatives of the international humanitarian organizations were told that 480,000 refugees have found shelter in Yugoslavia since 1991. After the exodus from the Republic of Serb Krajina, another 170,000 persons found shelter in our country.

When asked by a journalist how he commented on the latest wave of 50,000 Serbian refugees who were moving toward Banja Luka, Tomica Raicevic emphasized that our country has not changed its stance toward the

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refugees, that it would continue to provide humanitarian aid to them; however, it believed that the Serb Republic [RS] had the conditions to find accommodations for them in the empty houses on its territory. Our activities are primarily directed toward the peace settlement, Raicevic said.

Society Urges UN To Halt Air Strikes in Bosnia

LD1609110795 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1046 GMT 16 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept. 16 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav humanitarian and educational society Sveti Sava on Saturday demanded from the U.N. Security Council to stop all further NATO air strikes on the Bosnian Serbs on order to prevent the killing of people and destruction of vital material facilities.

The Sveti Sava society sent an open letter expressing deep concern over the threat to the lives of children, their mothers, the elderly and the entire population, and the destruction of vital civilian facilities, hospitals, schools and communication links in territories populated by the Serbs.

The Sveti Sava society was founded in 1886 and rallies prominent Serbian and Yugoslav scientists, cultural and public figures.

By openly siding with one of the sides in the civil war in Bosnia, NATO on Aug. 30 began the mass bombardment of Serb civilian and military targets throughout the Bosnian Serb state Republika Srpska.

The NATO air raids, used by the Muslim and Croat forces as air support for their operations in Republika Srpska, have only temporarily been stopped, and the latest three-day halt came into force on Thursday evening.

The Sveti Sava society said that this aggression and violence against the Serb people are being conducted with the tacit approval of the United Nations. The society called on the world organization to prevent the further persecution of the Serbs in the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

'Only in this way will we return the faith in the United Nations as a uncompromising institution of justice and truth,' the appeal said.

Serbia

Britain's Rifkind Briefs Journalists in Belgrade

AU1709141695 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 17 Sep 95

[Report by Tamara Motrenko]

[FBIS Translated Text] About one hour ago, British Foreign Secretary Malcolm Rifkind arrived in Belgrade where he will hold talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic. On his arrival at Surcin airport, Minister Rifkind told journalists that President Milosevic's key role and contribution to establishing peace and stability in the Balkans are of special importance.

[Begin Rifkind recording in English fading into Serbo-Croatian summary] I am pleased to be here in Belgrade. We are at a very crucial moment for the future of all the countries of this region. Great Britain intends to continue to play a very important role and assume a good deal of responsibility in the quest for the right path to establish peace in this region. I am looking forward to meeting President Milosevic.

Tomorrow I will meet President Izetbegovic. After that I will be going to Zagreb to meet President Tudjman. I believe that President Milosevic can have great impact on the search for peace in this region because of his influence. This is very important for the future progress, peace, stability, prosperity, and well-being of all countries in this region.

I believe that this historic opportunity to achieve peace should not be missed.

The British foreign secretary stressed that there is much work to be done before peace is finally established.

In reply to the question on what he thought about the Muslim offensive in central Bosnia and the territory that they have captured, Rifkind said that many battles are being fought at this moment and that it was not possible to envisage the final stability without a political agreement, which is a precondition for the definitive arrival of peace.

Rifkind stressed that he believes the Serbs will withdraw heavy weapons from around Sarajevo and the protected areas according to the agreement that has been reached, and that this would make possible further progress in the peace process. He said he was looking forward to spending several hours of useful talks with President Milosevic. [end recording]

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British Member of House of Lords Visits Serbia

LD1509224695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1829 GMT 15 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept 15 (TANJUG)—Serbian Vice-Premier Slobodan Unkovic and Information Minister Ratomir Vico conferred on Friday with British MP [as received] Lord Harlech about endeavours towards a peaceful settlement of the crisis in the territory of former Yugoslavia.

Discussion topics at separate talks between Lord Harlech and the two Yugoslav officials were the initiatives and contributions by Yugoslavia and by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to the peace process, the Information Ministry said in an announcement.

Lord Harlech is visiting here these days to learn about the current developments in the areas of former Yugoslavia.

Minister Vico stressed the significance of the role the foreign media may have abroad in the surmounting of a biased treatment of developments in Yugoslavia.

At this talk it was assessed that Britain's media—which have been reporting in a more balanced way than others about events in the areas of former Yugoslavia—are showing increasing understanding for the position of Yugoslavia, Serbia and the Serb people as a whole.

A more impartial coverage of the current developments in the areas of former Yugoslavia can contribute constructively to the overall efforts to achieve a just political solution which will evenly observe the interests of the Serbs, Croats and Muslims, it was assessed at this talk, said the announcement.

Serbian Minister Expects Easing of UN Blockade

LD1509222995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2151 GMT 15 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept 15 (TANJUG)—Serbian Industry Minister Oskar Fodor said on Friday he expected the international isolation of Yugoslavia to be relaxed soon.

The U.N. Security Council clamped comprehensive and mandatory sanctions on the Yugoslav Federation of Serbia and Montenegro on May 30, 1992.

Despite this, Yugoslav firms are still healthy and the expected full suspension of the sanctions will substantially change the economic environment for development and also for privatisation, Fodor told TANJUG in a statement.

Yugoslavia expects its continued contribution to the peace process to be rewarded by a full suspension of the sanctions.

Yugoslav Government figures put the domestic economy's losses from the sanctions at 45 billion dollars at least.

Neighbouring countries and the region as a whole have also taken considerable losses through being compelled to enforce the relevant U.N. resolutions.

The U.N. Security Council first suspended the sanctions in sport, culture, air and sea traffic for 100 days on Oct. 5, 1994, after the Yugoslav Government had upheld the plan for Bosnia of the five-state contact group.

The suspension has been renewed several times since, and the latest 75-day suspension is due to run out on Sept. 18.

Whether the sanctions will again be suspended or finally lifted this time will depend on the current policy and major international developments, Fodor said.

The signs of easing are evident in that big corporations have been present here for some time now, and they come precisely from countries which have been the strictest in their enforcement of the anti-Yugoslav blockade, he said.

He mentioned Germany's Siemens Corporatin and firms from Italy, France and the United States as cases in point.

Opposition: Croatian Aggression Threatens Peace

LD1509190995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1716 GMT 15 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept. 15 (TANJUG)—Serbian parties said Friday that the suspension of NATO bombing and the decision on the withdrawal of Bosnian Serb weapons around Sarajevo contributed to a peaceful settlement of the Bosnian conflict, but that peace was now threatened by the Croat-Muslim offensive.

New Democracy Party president Dusan Mihajlovic said Friday that the last obstacle to lasting peace had been removed with the decisions to suspend NATO bombing in Bosnia and withdraw Bosnian Serb heavy weapons from the 20-km exclusion zone around Sarajevo.

This is an important diplomatic victory of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and the Serbian Government, said the president of the New Democracy, which is the coalition partner of Serbia's Socialist Party in the republican government.

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There are still diplomatic efforts to be made in order to stop the Croat-Muslim aggression on the Bosnian Serb Republic, Mihajlovic told a press conference.

Democratic Party vice president Miodrag Perisic said Friday that the decision on a three-day suspension of NATO attacks on the Bosnian Serb Republic was a positive step towards a peaceful solution.

Speaking at a news conference, Perisic said he hoped that a decision to cease such operations completely would be made in the following days.

The international community has to stop all activities of the Bosnian Muslim-Croat army and regular troops of neighbouring Croatia in Bosnia, he said.

Perisic said that the latest military successes of Croats and Muslims in central and western Bosnia showed that there was a 'high level of coordination in the operation of NATO and the army of the Muslim-Croat Federation.'

By attacking with air force and cruise missiles, NATO prepared the ground for the Muslim-Croat infantry advance, Perisic said.

President of the Serbian Radical Party 'Nikola Pasic' Jovan Glamocanin said Friday that Croats and Muslims had used the protection of NATO air force and seized the town of Jajce and western parts of the Bosnian Serb Republic.

'Serbs have lost most of Krajina and a large part of the Bosnian Serb Republic because of the western support to Croats and Muslims,' he said.

'A new wave of 100,000 Serb refugees moving towards the Bosnian Serb centre of Banja Luka, represents the most dreadful result of western alliance's anti-Serb activity,' Glamocanin said.

'Highest Office' Supports Krajina Government

AU1509171895 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Sep 95 p 14

[Report by M.B.: "Babic's Government Should Not Languish"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The government of Dr. Milan Babic recently received "a message" from the highest office in Serbia not to languish but to keep together until further notice, a NASA BORBA source from the top Krajina leadership reports. To support this information, the same source also quoted information that the Krajina government was recently allocated 300,000 dinars from the FRY budget to settle its current obligations and carry out the basic tasks to maintain its present status.

Support for the above statements comes primarily from the information that the bill for a telephone in the offices of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was, as we wrote, cut off at the end of August because of unsettled obligations, has been paid, as well as the fact that Krajina government, following the disintegration of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, kept the offices of its officials in Mosa Pijade Street in Terazije [area of Belgrade]. The "functioning" of the government is confirmed by long queues of miserable people who are issued with various information, recommendations, and certificates by this office on a daily basis. Namely, they can get passports or documents for their return to their abandoned homes in the Republic of Croatia, for example, only with the approval of the Krajina government.

Kosovo

Albanian, Serb Press View Berisha's U.S. Visit

AU1609193995 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 16 Sep 95

[Telephone report by Qani Mehmeti from Pristina]

[FBIS Translated Text] The visit of Albanian President Dr. Sali Berisha was also followed with extraordinary attention in Kosova and the Albanian public in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. The Albanian mass media in this area devoted the most important place and the largest space to this visit. According to the Albanian public here, the talks of President Berisha with the highest U.S. state, military, and economic leader have aroused optimism that the Albanian cause in the former Yugoslavia, particularly the Kosova issue, will be resolved according to the will of its own people, while the economy and democracy in Albania will prosper expeditiously. This enthusiasm is legitimized by the fact that the U.S. State Department, precisely during Berisha's visit to Washington, addressed the public with the assertion that the Albanian question in the Balkans remains unsolved and that regional stability is to the interest of this state. In a word, after the commitment by the top Albanian state officials, it is expected in Kosova that the Albanian question in this area will finally be found on the table of circles of international establishment. Of course, to internationalize this issue, the Albanian top state leader rendered an exceptional contribution during this visit to the United States.

Meanwhile, the Serbian press both in Belgrade and Prishtina tried to remain silent about this visit by Berisha; however, it could not but tell at least some words to its own public. This press was finally concerned with President Berisha's presenting the Kosova issue at the White House.

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A comment by Serbian newspaper JEDINSTVO says that during his visit to the United States, President Berisha made great efforts to incorporate the Kosova issue into the newest diplomatic initiatives to resolve the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. According to the same newspaper, efforts are made by the heads of Kosova and Albania to impose on the world the parallelism of the status of Albanians in Kosova with the status of Serbs in Bosnia.

Another assessment on President Berisha's visit was made by the Serbian independent newspaper NASA BORBA of Belgrade. The newspaper wrote that President Berisha experienced a great moment as head of state and was received with all honors and entered [words indistinct] in the White House in Washington, where he gained numerous compliments, including the appraisal that Albania is the only island of stability in the turbulent sea of the Balkans.

'Stronger Reaction' to Belgrade Colonization Urged

AU1609203895 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 16 Sep 95

[Telephone report by Mehmet Haziri from Pristina]

[FBIS Translated Text] In its daily report, the Kosova Information Center informs us that over the past days, hundreds of Serb colonists have been settled in Lipjan [Lipljan], Gllogovc [Glogovac], Vushtrri [Vucitrn], Prezeve, and Rahovec [Orahovac]. The colonists have usurped the economic objects, schools, dormitories, and even outpatient clinics, part of which have been mainly built with the means and self-contribution of the Albanian citizens.

A part of these colonists, who have still preserved a bit of reason from being destroyed by the traumas of the tragic war in Croatia, are conscientious of their new calamity caused by the leaders, frenzied from the Greater Serbian chauvinism. That is why they do not want to live in Kosova, and a considerable number of them have returned back. Thus, out of 305 Serbian colonists settled in Vushtrri [Vucitrn], more than half of them have left Kosova. Some 30 colonists settled in Gllogovc [Glogovac] commune, an environment with an absolute majority of Albanians, attempted to organize such a departure, but they were caught by the Serbian police and are now held in isolation.

Out of 450 Serb colonists who have so far settled in Gjakove [Dakovica], a considerable number of them have left this region under the pretext that they have joined their families in Serbia.

Despite this, the stream of Serbian colonists from Croatia is flowing quietly and without any clamor in the Serbian mass media, but also not without megalomaniac plans of the Serbian-installed bodies so that Kosova be populated with this tragic population at any cost.

Several decisions were made at a meeting organized by the Prishtina occupying bodies, which may have grave consequences for the capital of the Republic of Kosova. These decisions by Serbian powerholders foresee a change in the town urban plans to set up blocks with 351 flats. Meanwhile, 621 houses will be built for Serbian colonists from Croatia in Ajvali, Matiqan, and Lebane, suburban localities in Prishtina.

These colonizing megalomaniac plans cannot be realized by a Serbia that is economically shattered. However, the Albanian population in Kosova and its institutions are upset by the uninterrupted arrival of colonists and their dangerous consequences.

According to incomplete data, over 11,000 Serbian colonists have so far been accommodated in Albanian dwelling places in Kosova, and this figure is very upsetting. That is why it is necessary to create a greater alarm and a stronger reaction to Belgrade's newest attempts to colonize Kosova.

Vojvodina

Ethnic Hungarians Evicted To House Serbs

LD1709145695 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0505 GMT 17 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Yesterday, the World Federation of Hungarians called on the Hungarian and Serb Governments to take steps to facilitate the participation of Vojvodina's Hungarian representatives in international negotiations that deal with the nationality issues of the region. [passage omitted] Now we will play an on-the-site report. Correspondents Istvan Erdei and Andras Herfner, have interviewed Sandor Egeresi, Association of Vojvodina Hungarians [UVM] executive deputy chairman, and Istvan Kabok, chairman of the Backa branch of the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians [DZUM].

[Begin recording] [Egeresi] The UVM, one of the political and interest protection organizations of the Hungarians in Vojvodina has been monitoring the situation for the past three weeks. Our office has been receiving, virtually hourly, reports of forceful settlements, appropriation of houses and other atrocities. Regretfully, the prominent UVM leaders have also been receiving a large number of threatening letters and telephone calls.

I myself witnessed the forceful occupation of a house. An elderly couple was forcefully evicted from their

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house by refugees during the night. [passage omitted] We reported it to the police who, using force, removed the refugees from the house. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Do these people receive gas, food, and money from the state for coming here to Vojvodina?

[Egeresi] They are given an address. [passage omitted] So far these people have been herded north, to the territory of Vojvodina. I can demonstrate this by a simple figure. In Backa Topola there are more refugees than in the entire Republic of Montenegro. The refugees have been directed here deliberately, Montenegro does not receive them.

[Correspondent] I have also heard reports that offers by ethnic Hungarians of housing refugees had been forged.

[Egeresi] We have numerous reports of this kind. For example, two ladies from a humanitarian aid organization turned up and thanked people for having offered their houses to refugees. The poor people were bewildered, especially when at the aid office they were shown the decree allegedly signed by the husband—naturally, the signature was forged.

The residents of Doroslovo offered five houses to the refugees but extremists from Prigrevica, assisted by local extremists, subjected the ethnic Hungarian owners of the other empty houses to psychological pressure. They said that unless the houses were given voluntarily they would move in by force. They broke into and looted two houses, after which newly arrived refugees occupied them. Following this psychological pressure some 15-20 house owners handed over their properties to the refugees. [passage omitted]

[Kabok] In the entire western Backa there is great pressure on Hungarian villages to settle refugees. Sometimes direct force is used. Houses are broken into. However, much of the settlement is achieved by so-called persuasion. First there is an appeal to the heart—children are being paraded—but when that does not work the threats begin. People are told that they will be better off signing the declaration of acceptance of refugees in their houses because then they will stand a chance that these refugees will eventually leave, whereas if they refuse, others will come and take the houses by force. [passage omitted]

We can already see the next phase in the campaign. They are trying to persuade Hungarian house owners to sell their houses by arguing that they will be better off selling them because the state might issue expropriation decrees.

All this suggests that we are not talking about temporary settlement of refugees here. However, they would like to do this quietly. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Serb Refugees From Knin Arrive in Vojvodina

LD1709122295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0936 GMT 17 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sremska Mitrovica, 17 Sep (TANJUG)—During the night 1,180 refugees from the Republic of Serb Krajina who had spent over a month in the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] base in Knin after Croatia's aggression against the Republic of Serb Krajina arrived in Sremska Mitrovica, Stean Rosic, director of a collection center in this town, confirmed to TANJUG.

He said the refugees kept arriving until 0200 this morning on board 27 coaches and six trucks carrying their belongings.

After traveling along the expressway in Croatia, they crossed into Yugoslavia at the Lipovac-Batrovci border crossing and their accommodation was organized at the Pinki business and sports center in Sremska Mitrovica.

About a half of the Krajina refugees found accommodation with relatives and friends.

During the day, 600 of them will be taken by coach to Bor and Uzice, as agreed with the republican headquarters for refugees.

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